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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Karpov Seeks Short-Range Nuclear Arms Parity

AU0203111289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Mar 89 p 6

[Claus Gennrich report: "Karpov Agrees to Common Ceilings"]

[Text] Bonn, 1 March—The CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] Bundestag groups on Wednesday [2 March] approved the statement made by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Karpov, that Moscow is prepared to hold negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons soon. Floor leader Dregger said in Bonn that the Soviet Union is highly superior to NATO in this weapons category: "This cannot remain so." He said that it is necessary to reduce such weapons to a minimum level which should be lower than NATO's present number of short-range missiles. He added that the objective is to have common ceilings that are "clearly under NATO's present stocks."

Bonn diplomats said that there is reason to be satisfied, if the Soviet preparedness to negotiate on missiles with a range of less than 500 kilometers is confirmed. They say that during his talks in Bonn, which ended on Tuesday [28 February], Karpov discussed tactical nuclear weapons as a whole, including weapons based on ships and aircraft. Following his talks in the Foreign Ministry and in the Chancellor's Office, Karpov said that Moscow thinks that a reduction in conventional forces—which will be negotiated on in Vienna from 6 March—should be accompanied by a reduction in tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe: "Therefore, in parallel with conventional negotiations, NATO and the Warsaw Pact should consider beginning negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons." He added that in so doing, short-range missiles should "of course" be included. He said that negotiations should begin as soon as possible, and should not only be conducted by Washington and Moscow, if possible, but also by those countries that do not possess warheads but which have nuclear weapons deployed on their territory.

Compromise With Missiles?

Karpov said that Moscow is ready to remove all tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. However, if the United States does not agree, "jointly reduced levels" could be established as a compromise, he said. If NATO were to decide on the modernization of its short-range missiles in the spring, the Soviet Union will "exercise restraint to show that it is also possible to pursue a different course," Karpov said. However, he "cannot guarantee that there will not be any countermeasures in the sense of modernization by the Soviet Union itself," he said, adding that negotiations are therefore to be recommended.

In Bonn Karpov discussed the upcoming Vienna negotiations and the creation of conventional stability from the Atlantic to the Urals. Bonn diplomats saw the fact confirmed that Moscow has come closer to the West's negotiation proposal. Thus, there is agreement that negotiations will be held on tanks, artillery, and infantry combat vehicles, so as to reduce and gradually eliminate the capacity to launch large-scale offensives and surprise attacks.

The Soviet Union intends to include aircraft in the negotiations from the start; the West believes that this could be done at a later date. Moscow intends not to include fighter aircraft in the negotiations, because these aircraft are "defensive." Sources in Bonn said on Wednesday [1 March] that the Soviet Union is considerably superior in fighter aircraft in particular. Bonn has objections to the inclusion of the other aircraft—something that Moscow wants—because the Soviet Union could pull the aircraft to be removed from the negotiation area back, behind the Urals and could keep them operational from there, even after agreements have been concluded.

The West, however, is basically ready to conduct negotiations on aircraft, but does not want to submit a proposal in this respect during the first round of talks. Karpov confirmed that Moscow will demonstrate its willingness in Vienna to adopt ceilings for the "main weapons systems," which should be at least 10 percent below the number of the side that has fewer tanks—which is the West in the case of tanks.

The ceilings should be verifiable, and a dispute about the data of the starting position should be eliminated, if possible. Karpov spoke of Soviet readiness to accept the "verification instruments" that the West will propose for the verification of the observance of future agreements. Karpov also suggested agreement on ceilings for soldiers. The West considers an agreement on this more difficult than a treaty on tanks, artillery systems, and vehicles, which can be verified more easily.

Parity of 20,000 Tanks Each

British Foreign Secretary Howe will present the West's proposal in Vienna on Monday [6 March]. According to this proposal, the total number of tanks in Europe should be reduced by 50 percent to a total of 40,000, which would mean that both NATO and the Warsaw Pact would keep 20,000 tanks each. Thus, the East would have to eliminate 30,000 tanks, and the West 2,000 in order to reach a parity of 20,000. No individual state should be allowed to surpass a certain percentage in the total number of tanks, which would imply restrictions on the Soviet side in particular. The number of tanks deployed outside the borders should be limited to a certain number.

The Western proposal provides for a limitation on arms in active units, and the remaining weapons are to be stored under international inspection. Weapons that exceed the ceiling are to be removed or withdrawn from Europe. In addition to that, the proposals provide for the exchange of information on the structure and organization of the Armed Forces. Karpov has described these proposals as largely acceptable in Bonn.

GDR Foreign Minister Fischer and, after him, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will speak in Vienna on Monday on behalf of the Warsaw Pact. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher will address the meeting on Tuesday [7 March] and U.S. Secretary of State Baker on Wednesday [8 March]. On Thursday [9 March], after the opening round, the delegations will start negotiations.

The first round is scheduled to last until Easter. Then, expert talks will begin, the duration of which has not been indicated. Bonn believes that the disparities may be eliminated in 3 years' time; everything else is still in the distant future. Prospects are good now because the talks with Karpov have shown that both sides are pursuing "basically the same course."

Lushev Seeks NATO 'Response' on Unilateral Cuts

PM0103114189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, by unnamed TASS correspondent: "In the Interests of Peace and the Peoples' Security"—place, date not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement "On the Correlation of the Numerical Strength of Armed Forces and Armaments of the Warsaw Pact Organization and the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe and Its Adjoining Waters," which was published in the press, remains the subject of broad discussion in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as far beyond their borders. A TASS correspondent's questions about the document's importance were answered by Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

[Correspondent] What made it necessary to publish this document, and how is it associated with the latest changes in the world and especially with the principles of new political thinking?

[Lushev] The Warsaw Pact countries proceed from the premise that, in today's conditions, rising levels of arms—and especially of mass destruction arms—cannot guarantee security in the world since the use of force to resolve various contradictions threatens to destroy world civilization. Now it is clearer than ever before that, as the military potential of states is built up, peace becomes correspondingly more fragile. This means that the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance must concentrate their efforts on ruling out any strong-arm confrontation. Consequently the Warsaw Pact countries' new concept gives priority to the line of reducing the levels of military confrontation, ending the nuclear and conventional arms race, switching to consistent disarmament, developing confidence-building measures, and preventing war.

Hence, the need to do everything possible to ensure that the incipient process of easing international tension, real disarmament, gathers strength and becomes irreversible. The 30 January 1989 statement by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee is the result of a new approach to questions of peace and the peoples' security, an approach based on new thinking and the principles of openness and glasnost.

In our opinion, truthful numerical data on the correlation of the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces and armaments will contribute to the successful holding of talks on reducing conventional armed forces, as well as talks on confidence-building measures. This should, from the very start, give the talks dynamism, a realistic nature, and purposefulness.

The Warsaw Pact countries are going to the talks with a program making it possible to reverse the debilitating arms race. This is the context in which the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces' numerical strength, as announced in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech, ought to be considered. The Soviet Union's military budget will be reduced by 14.2 percent. Other Warsaw Pact countries are making a substantial contribution to the process of disarmament in Europe by announcing reductions of armed forces, arms, and military spending. This is not wishful thinking; it is a real contribution to preserving peace and resolving paramount questions of contemporary international security.

The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement is also important for the following reason. It is a source of truthful information for millions of people in the West. Too many incorrect ideas, doubts, and fears have accumulated in the West as a result of irresponsible actions by official NATO propaganda to cultivate the "enemy image" and the publication of sundry fabrications about the "Soviet military threat" and the "NATO lag." The Warsaw Pact countries' document introduces clarity into the confused picture presented by NATO propaganda, while the truthful data on the correlation of armed forces and armaments helps to overcome these artificial accretions and to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence.

[Correspondent] How do you explain the existing imbalances and asymmetries in the correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces and armaments in Europe and its adjoining waters? What has brought them about?

[Lushev] I think the answer to this question should be approached from the historical angle. Let us recall the features of the international situation in the postwar years: the knocking together of anti-Soviet military-political blocs by the imperialist states, with the leading role in this being played by our former allies from the anti-Hitler coalition; the creation [sozdaniye] of numerous military bases around USSR territory; the unrestrained acceleration of the flywheel of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race; the buildup of U.S. and NATO naval forces; the development [razrabotka] of diverse military-strategic plans and concepts envisaging the waging of war against the Soviet Union and its allies involving the mass use of sophisticated weapons; and the fanning of military hysteria.

The Warsaw Pact countries could not have remained indifferent to all this: The question of defending the socialist fatherland emerged before them in all its urgency.

Taking into account the prevailing situation, the country's geographical location, and the need to stand up to an adversary enjoying the advantage in nuclear weapons, they were forced to create [sozdavat] a large-scale army. In order to guarantee their security and, if necessary, to repulse and rout an aggressor, they had to equip themselves with the latest hardware, primarily tanks, artillery, and air defense systems. Military-strategic parity was established [byl sozdan] at the cost of tremendous efforts in terms of manpower and resources. This parity became a prerequisite of security. The Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine, adopted at the Political Consultative Committee Berlin conference, emphasizes: "The currently prevailing military-strategic parity remains the decisive factor in preventing war."

Now the world has changed. The task of safeguarding modern civilization and defending universal human values has come to the fore. Hence the need to change the strategy of the Joint Armed Forces, their structural organization, and their training. The joint reduction of Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces has become an objective necessity. The Warsaw Pact countries advocate the maintenance of military-strategic equilibrium at an increasingly lower level, right down to the point of the sufficiency necessary exclusively for defense purposes.

It is self-evident that the limits of sufficiency for defense are dictated not only by the tenets of the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine but also by the level and nature of the external threat. The reduction of military-strategic parity is not a one-way street. It must be implemented simultaneously and proportionately [sorazmerno] by both the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The North Atlantic alliance's armed forces must also gradually assume a defensive nature.

[Correspondent] The Soviet people, with the tragic experience of June 1941 still fresh in their memory, and our allies and friends all over the world, while approving the bold actions of the Warsaw Pact countries to solve the disarmament problems, also ask this question: Are the unilateral actions by the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states not likely to prove to be risky measures capable of damaging our security? What could you say in this context?

[Lushev] In reply to this question I would like to say that the international experience accumulated so far introduces substantial amendments to the ideas about the potential of the strong-arm policy. The most important prerequisite of new political thinking—the perception that there can be no victors in a nuclear war and that such a war, by virtue of its catastrophic consequences, cannot be perceived as an extension of politics by other means—is increasingly widespread in the West. The United States has openly acknowledged that a nuclear war must not be fought. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is being implemented; there are prospects for reaching a USSR-U.S. accord on the reduction of strategic offensive arms; and talks are continuing on the elimination of chemical weapons and the actual base for their production. There is a turn in the direction of overcoming regional conflicts. It is therefore possible to claim that international tension is on a downward curve, that the threat of a considerable military clash, especially a nuclear one, has receded somewhat.

In the prevailing situation, the practical measures being undertaken by the Warsaw Pact countries—elaborated with due consideration for historically prevailing asymmetries in arms and the structure of the armed forces—are justified and necessary. Without damaging our security, they will be able to give a push in the direction of new and significant breakthroughs in the advancement of arms reductions and will give the national economy the thousands of working hands and sizeable material and financial resources needed for restructuring.

Moreover, we have also taken into account that, in contemporary conditions, ensuring national and international security emerges more and more as a political problem. The Warsaw Pact countries advocate the solution of all disputed international questions only by peaceful and political means. When making the decision to reduce armed forces and to publish data on the correlation of armed forces and armaments, they comprehensively weighed the political factors which determine development trends in the contemporary world.

While thoroughly considering their proposals, they also took into account the persisting military threat posed by imperialist militarism, and they believe that there are still no guarantees that the incipient positive processes are irreversible. This is why, in the course of reduction and restructuring, the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries will constantly maintain the requisite level of combat ability and combat readiness. Moreover, emphasis will be placed on qualitative parameters as regards arms, military equipment, and the armed forces as a whole.

The peoples in allied countries can rest assured that our states' defense capability will be maintained at the level of reasonable sufficiency so that nobody will feel tempted to encroach on their security.

[Correspondent] What could be said about the way the peace initiatives of the socialist countries are received by the other side, primarily by the NATO leadership?

[Lushev] That is a logical question. Cooperation in the military sphere is an objective requirement today, reflecting the interests of all states and peoples. It must be said that there is evidence indicating the published document and the socialist countries' other initiatives are perceived in different ways in NATO countries: with interest and approval by the majority of the population, with doubts and prejudice by official circles. The Soviet press has already reported the publication of a document entitled "NATO-Warsaw Pact. Evaluation of the Balance of Conventional Armed Forces" in the West back in November last year. It was compiled not on the basis of a comprehensive approach requiring consideration of all components of armed might, but according to the principle of selective comparison which does not give an objective picture. It is based on a desire to secure benefits and advantages for the North Atlantic alliance, on commitment to outdated canons and ideas. The North Atlantic alliance leadership circles still adhere to this principle at present.

Keeping to positions of realism, I must note that official NATO circles have yet to provide a suitable response to the steps proposed unilaterally by the Warsaw Pact countries. Furthermore, quite a few of their representatives, like U.S. Secretary of Defense John Tower for example, counsel an attitude of "healthy skepticism" toward our initiatives. There are also some who try to make the public believe that, at the present stage of the development of international relations, disarmament should supposedly not be a joint concern of all the major military powers in the world but just a unilateral obligation for the USSR.

NATO is promoting the task of arms modernization and the development [sozdaniye] of promising, high-accuracy weapons systems on the basis of new technologies. NATO's military leadership in Europe still relies on nuclear weapons and is committed to the concept of their first use. This also indicates that NATO is still not fully aware of the realities of the time: the world's interdependence and integrity, the emergence of limits to the opportunities for using military force, and the close dependence of the security of one's own country on the security of other countries and peoples. Of course, this is applying the brakes to the consolidation of the incipient positive trends in the cause of ensuring peace. Real steps in response by NATO are needed.

Akhromeyev Discusses Forces, Arms Ratios, Talks

*PM0103180189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Mar 89 First Edition p 4*

[Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev article: "The Correlation of Armed Forces in Europe and the Talks"]

[Text] **Major positive changes have occurred in the international situation over the last 4 years. They render more realistic the hopes that war can be prevented and peace preserved. There is growing confidence that this peace will be based not on permanent confrontation or on nuclear threat, as it had been for over 40 years, but on mutual understanding, the easing of military tension, and the reduction of armed forces and armaments via talks.**

This confidence has its own foundation. It comprises the real accords reached at the meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States; the major foreign policy initiatives by the Soviet Union, the allied Warsaw Pact states, Cuba, and Vietnam; the incipient mutual understanding between states with different social systems; and the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles on the basis of the Soviet-U.S. treaty. There was a successful conclusion to the Vienna meeting of representatives from the 35 states which developed the Helsinki process and made it possible for the 23 states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic alliance to begin in the first 10 days of March talks on the reduction of armed forces in Europe. A major contribution to the easing of tension was made by the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the emerging ways of settling the conflicts in South Africa and around Cambodia.

Following an analysis of international events of the last few years, the following question poses itself: Have **fundamental positive changes** been achieved in the international situation today? If we were to be objective, it is still not possible to give an affirmative answer. The 40 years of postwar rivalry and mutual nuclear confrontation have not passed without a trace. There are quite a few influential forces in the United States and other countries in the West whose policy is based on anti-Sovietism.

Anti-Soviet forces have no intention of heeding the positive changes occurring in the world. Now, just as in the past, they disregard the Soviet Union's large-scale and specific measures to ease military tension and reduce arms, and continue to make claims about the Soviet Union's aggressiveness, about a so-called "Soviet military threat," and the military superiority of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact over the United States and the North Atlantic alliance in Europe.

For many decades on end this great untruth was implanted—and some figures still continue to implant it—in the minds of the peoples of the United States and the West European states. Furthermore, special emphasis is placed on the correlation of the sides' military forces. But what is the real state of affairs as regards the correlation of armed forces between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic alliance?

I.

It is universally known that the basis of military might is primarily the economic might and population of the states and military alliances. Hardly anyone would dispute the fundamental nature of these specific indicators.

And so, if we were to compare the economic might of the states within the two military alliances—the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance—we would arrive at the ratio 1:2.5; the gross national income of the Warsaw Pact states in 1985 was $1,901.7 billion against $4,350.7 billion for the North Atlantic alliance states; population numbers are in a proportion of 1:1.6 in favor of the alliance of Western states. The Warsaw Pact states have a population of 393.8 million, the North Atlantic alliance has 648.9 million.

Nevertheless, history knows of cases when economically mighty but peace-loving states had small armed forces, while states that were economically weaker but more aggressive had large armed forces and posed a military threat to their neighbors. Influential forces in the West are trying to depict the Warsaw Pact as precisely such an aggressive military alliance which has deployed excessive armed forces. But this is refuted by the facts.

At the beginning of 1988, the numerical strength of the Warsaw Pact armed forces, including the entire USSR Armed Forces, was 900,000 men fewer than the numerical strength of the North Atlantic alliance armed forces, including the entire U.S. Armed Forces. The time has evidently come to publish this data and produce a comparative analysis of all the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance as a whole, so that the public might reach an objective judgment on the correlation of the armed forces of the two military alliances as a whole.

Maybe the Warsaw Pact armed forces are superior to the armies and navies of the North Atlantic alliance states in terms of armament quality?

But this does not work either. Sovietologists in the West claim the quality of the armament of the armies and navies of the Western countries is superior to that of the Warsaw Pact armies. We will not argue with our opponents about whose weapons are better. We are convinced that the quality of the sides' armaments is comparable and approximately the same, even though the West really does enjoy an advantage in some types of air force and naval armament.

II.

Today there are two diametrically opposed assessments of the correlation of armed forces and armaments in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact states said earlier and affirm today that the correlation of military forces in Europe, taking into account all their components, is approximately equal. It gives no grounds to conclude that either of the military alliances has military superiority.

The efforts of the NATO bloc have for nearly 40 years been aimed at demonstrating that in the second half of the 20th century a "Soviet military threat" has constantly hung over Western Europe from the East and still does so today, and that the Warsaw Pact Organization has overwhelming military superiority in Europe.

To confirm this thesis, in November 1988 the North Atlantic alliance headquarters in Brussels published a document under the title "Conventional Forces in Europe: The Facts." Let us see of what these so-called facts consist.

It is clear from an analysis of the document's content that it does not examine the conventional armed forces of the sides in full. It is common knowledge that in any littoral state conventional armed forces consist of at least three branches of the armed forces: ground, air, and naval forces. But naval forces do not feature in this North Atlantic alliance document. With a single stroke of the pen, 700,000 naval seamen, 1,600 combat aircraft, and some 800 surface ships—large ones alone—and submarines belonging to the West's military alliance are simply taken out of the reckoning. But since when has the navy ceased to be an indicator of the might of states and military alliances? How can you trust an analysis like that?

Analysis of the figures for ground and air forces published in Brussels shows that these too were selected in a biased way.

The compilers of the document are undoubtedly familiar with the principles of the structure of the sides' armed forces. In the forces of the North Atlantic alliance in peacetime the majority of formations are deployed at strength levels close to those of wartime, while large stockpiles of arms and combat hardware are kept at bases and dumps. The United States alone keeps at such bases in Europe everything necessary to deploy within 10 days six tank and mechanized divisions whose personnel could be airlifted from U.S. territory. In the next few years these stockpiles will be increased so that it will be possible to deploy 10 combined-arms divisions on this basis.

In the Warsaw Pact states the principles of the armed forces structure in peacetime are different. We and our allies maintain a minimum number of deployed motorized infantry and tank divisions. And even these divisions, in peacetime, have personnel numbers considerably lower than wartime strength levels envisage. The majority of formations in the forces of the Warsaw Pact are maintained at reduced strength in peacetime; they have only 12-18 percent of the personnel of the wartime strength level. These formations are provided with armaments and combat hardware. In addition a certain quantity of combat hardware and weapons is kept at bases and dumps, in reserve.

The compilers of the Brussels document, when drafting it, counted all the armaments of the Warsaw Pact ground forces—both those held in deployed and reduced forces and those available at all the bases and dumps. In the North Atlantic alliance forces, however, they counted only the armaments and combat hardware held in combat forces.

With the help of this far from objective method, they arrived at the numbers of armaments and combat hardware on each side. Just one example: The document indicates that the United States has 1,800 tanks in Europe, whereas in fact it has about 7,000.

The compilers of the document analyze the combat strength of the Warsaw Pact forces in the same way. Thus, they claim that the Soviet ground forces have 156 motorized infantry, tank, and artillery divisions on the European territory of the USSR. In fact they have 50 fewer than that, as of today. Commentary, as the saying goes, is superfluous.

In counting up the number of the sides' combat aircraft in Europe, however, the figures are adjusted in a different way. In the combat strength of the Warsaw Pact states' air forces, all combat and training aircraft of the relevant types that are held in aviation units are counted. Combat training aircraft are excluded from the combat strength of the North Atlantic alliance air forces. In a number of Western countries the number of combat aircraft in their air forces is artificially understated. Why is all this being done? After all, the document was drawn up by competent specialists. Their knowledge of the subject is not to be doubted. The point is that they sought not an objective analysis, but the attainment of propaganda objectives. As before, they were trying to demonstrate the danger posed by the "Soviet military threat."

III.

On 30 January the statement by the Defense Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact States, "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters," was published. I will not dwell on its content. It is well-known.

A comparison of the two military alliances' documents reveals different ways of approaching an examination of the correlation of the two sides' military forces.

The document of the Warsaw Pact states analyzes the overall military might of the sides. NATO Headquarters compared individual, arbitrarily selected, systems of ground forces armaments. Why are the methods of calculating the strengths of armed forces and armaments so different? Why did the NATO countries refuse in March 1988 to prepare a joint document on the correlation of the sides' military forces in Europe?

The chief reason is the desire to avoid counting all the forces and means that make up the total military might of the two military alliances; to completely exclude the navy, in which NATO has such a big advantage over the Warsaw Pact, from the sum. As soon as naval forces are included in the calculation of the correlation of military forces in Europe the entire concept of Warsaw Pact military superiority in Europe, which has been created over many decades, disintegrates. It does not stand up to any criticism and proves to be a deliberate untruth.

The document published in Brussels in November 1988 says: "Naval forces are capable of being deployed on a global scale, and this makes it artificial to establish specific figures for ships associated with one particular region." This assertion is totally groundless. In peacetime the sides' armed forces are deployed in accordance with the military-political situation in the world. In accordance with it (and not with anything else) the United States has an Atlantic Fleet and operational 2d and 6th Fleets earmarked for actions in seas adjoining Europe, including the Mediterranean, and on United States-Europe sea routes (for that very reason these forces and means must be included in the calculation of the correlation of forces in Europe). The navies of the other European countries in NATO are generally intended for actions only in seas adjoining Euorpe, so there is all the more reason why they should be included in the sum.

The United States has specially designated fleets for actions in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and the Caribbean basin.

There is absolutely no substance to claims that naval forces do not participate in the seizure of territories on dry land because they are operating in seas and oceans. So the only danger comes, they say, from motorized rifle and armored forces. This assertion is directed at people who are ignorant of military matters or are naive simpletons. Three-fourths of the earth's surface is taken up by expanses of ocean and sea. For centuries we have heard the leaders of the United States, Britain, and others claim: "Whoever rules the seas and oceans rules the world." The massive role of naval forces in the overall military might is confirmed by military history—in particular, by the use of the U.S. Navy in World War II and in the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

It is also clear that NATO also excludes naval forces from the correlation of military forces in Europe in order to prevent them from becoming a subject of any negotiations on armed forces cuts.

We have agreed that the sides' naval forces should not be a subject of the talks in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces in Europe and we do not intend to renege on this. But, this does not mean that they must not be the subject of any negotiations. On the contrary, the time has come for such negotiations to commence. Initially they might be talks on the reduction of naval forces between the Soviet Union and the United States. We have made the relevant proposals to the U.S. side, but there has been no reply yet. Such talks are going to be essential in the future both in the context of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces in Europe and separately from these talks.

But this is not all. In precisely the same way the North Atlantic alliance is trying to conceal its superiority in Europe with respect to strike aviation, which is considerable—1,300 combat aircraft. At the same time they are trying to convince us, again banking on naivete or incompetence, that strike aviation is not that important a means in combined arms operations. This too is evidence of the desire to exclude strike aviation from the topic of the upcoming talks in Vienna and to limit these talks to ground forces, thus forcing the Warsaw Pact states to unilaterally reduce tanks, infantry combat vehicles, armored personnel carriers, and artillery.

IV.

As a result of the beginning of the elimination by the USSR and the United States of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the problem of tactical nuclear weapons is assuming greater importance. This has become particularly topical in Europe. Following the achievement of the accord on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, it would seem natural also to come to an agreement on beginning talks on the elimination or at least the substantial reduction of the two military alliances' tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. The United States and some of its allies are opposed to such talks. This has to be taken into account. Without their goodwill, such talks cannot begin. It will be necessary to wait.

However, this is not all. The United States, Great Britain, and France intend to deploy [razvernut] new tactical nuclear weapon missile systems in Europe and are creating [sozdayut] them at the present time. The Soviet Union is opposed to this with good reason. In accordance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles concluded between the USSR and the United States, we are totally eliminating SS-12 missiles with a range of up to 1,000 km and the modern SS-23 missiles with a range of up to 500 km. The United States and its allies are aware of this. On what grounds are they planning to deploy in Europe nuclear missiles of the same range as those the Soviet Union is eliminating. U.S. attempts to deploy missiles with a range of up to 500 km will lead to nothing but an exacerbation of the situation in Europe.

Have people in West Europe considered where the deployment on European soil of the latest U.S. tactical land-based and air-launched nuclear missile systems may lead? For what period will these systems be deployed?

When considering the problem of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe the United States and its allies only take nuclear missiles and nuclear artillery into account, which is not correct. Nuclear-capable strike combat aircraft (bombers, fighter-bombers, and ground-attack aircraft) belong to this category of weapons with equal justification. This is being done for the sole reason that the North Atlantic alliance has more such aircraft capable of delivering nuclear weapons in Europe, as has been mentioned earlier. We are opposed to this approach. The nuclear-capable aircraft in the arsenal of West European countries have a range of 1,200 km and more. Each aircraft carries several nuclear missiles. The correlation of forces in any category of nuclear or conventional weapons must be calculated objectively.

And finally, about the approach itself to the talks on tactical nuclear weapons. Vast stockpiles of these weapons exist in Europe. Each side has more than 10,000 units of nuclear-capable strike aircraft, nuclear missiles with a range of up to 500 km, and nuclear artillery pieces with a caliber of 152 mm and above. Why have so many nuclear delivery vehicles if one is genuinely seeking to lower military tension? It would be only right to open talks on substantial bilateral reductions of these nuclear systems without delay.

V.

In a few days, talks on security and cooperation, and on the reduction of armed forces in Europe, will open in Vienna. Representatives of all the European states, the United States, and Canada have worked hard for 2 and ½ years to make these talks possible. We are going to these talks with great hopes for a better future for Europe.

The Soviet Union and all European socialist countries will seek at these talks approaches that would make it possible to improve and perfect relations between states with different social systems.

This fully applies to the talks on the reduction of armed forces. The Soviet Union and its allies are prepared to seek accords in the spirit of goodwill and mutual concessions. We are ready for hard and painstaking joint work. We are hoping that our partners in the negotiations will display the same goodwill and desire to achieve accords while taking into consideration mutual security.

NATO Naval Edge Seen as 'Destabilizing'

PM0103120389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Major General V. Tatarnikov "Military Expert's Opinion": "On Eve of Vienna Talks"]

[Text] Two kinds of complementary talks in the military sphere will begin in Vienna 6 March—involving the 35 participant states in the all-European process, to draw up a new set of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe; and involving the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, to reduce armed forces and conventional arms. But, before coming to the negotiating table, the Warsaw Pact states considered it necessary to show on a broad plane the real picture of the present correlation of forces between the two military-political alliances in Europe. This step has a direct bearing on the elucidation of the prospects of the talks and the elimination of misinformation and myths in this sphere, since the West's mass media have until now been feeding the public on propaganda data which grossly distorts the situation in the correlation of forces between the two alliances.

What is the purpose of the talks? They are devoted, above all, to drawing up a balanced agreement on a substantial reduction in the armed forces and conventional arms of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. The realization of this agreement will lead to the establishment in Europe of a balance of military potentials whereby both military-political alliances will be left only with the forces and means necessary for defense. The chief characteristic of the military potentials will be the level of reasonable sufficiency, which is to be founded on parity and equal security, the exclusively defensive nature of the sides' military doctrines, and a change in the structure of the armed forces and in the nature of their military activity and disposition.

The sides must proceed here from the premise that reductions in armed forces must be carried out mutually, in a phased manner, and in such a way that the overall equilibrium of forces is not upset and no one's security is harmed at all stages of the talks.

At the very beginning of the talks our side will raise the issue that all the participants should pledge not to build up their armed forces or make any attempts to circumvent the accords.

The unilateral reduction of armed forces and arms by the Warsaw Pact countries is undoubtedly a major contribution to achieving progress at the talks. This step shows the earnestness of our intentions with regard to achieving the aims of the talks. The Soviet Union's practical steps to modify the entire disposition of its armed forces in Europe in a defensive spirit; the withdrawal from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary; the disbanding of six tank divisions, and assault-landing and assault river-crossing units as well, and the reforming of the remaining divisions so as to impart a defensive structure to them also serve to improve the prospects. This is the materialization of the plans of the Warsaw Pact countries to switch to a purely defensive doctrine and make a real contribution to the disarmament process.

Of course, unilateral steps in this sphere by the NATO countries in return would have an exceptionally favorable influence on the prospects of the talks on conventional arms. We await from them not words but specific decisions on a unilateral reduction in armed forces, particularly with regard to those components where they have superiority over the levels of the Warsaw Pact countries—for example, with regard to strike aircraft, combat helicopters, and other kinds of weapons. Although naval forces will not be considered at the talks, their unilateral reduction by NATO countries would do much to alleviate the concern of Warsaw Pact countries and would constitute a big step toward stability since the strike forces of the NATO fleets are greatly superior to the Warsaw Pact's navies (naval forces) and are equipped with offensive, strike weapons systems.

It should be pointed out that the approach of the Warsaw Pact countries to the talks is based on a program of phased mutual and balanced reduction of the military potentials of both military-political alliances. This program was set forth in the Warsaw Pact countries' 1986 Budapest appeal and in the Political Consultative Committee statement in Warsaw in 1988.

With due regard for the significance, novelty, and scale of the talks, the program is geared to imparting dynamic development to them right from the start and reaching practical accords which will tangibly lower the level of military confrontation in Europe.

At the talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe it is proposed to develop the measures formulated in Stockholm. Since confidence-building measures—that is, notification of exercises, observance, and verification—at present embrace the activities of ground forces alone, the talks are to place chief emphasis on ensuring that confidence-building measures and information on military activity extend to naval and air forces in sea and ocean regions adjacent to Europe and in the airspace. Unfortunately, the NATO countries are still avoiding extending openness and reductions to naval and air force military activity and make out that there are no problems or threats from the direction of the sea. However, analysis shows that, as conventional arms are reduced, naval forces will have an ever-greater impact on the balance of forces and create a destabilizing situation which is unfavorable to the side that has smaller naval forces. Therefore, at the new stage it is expedient to extend confidence-building measures to maritime elements of the military potential, lift the veil from their activity, and then propose separate talks on reducing naval arms.

How will the talks develop? It is difficult to guess this now. The talks will be complex and difficult, but they will nonetheless be a very important area of the all-European process. It can be expected that at the initial stage of the talks the sides will have to agree on specific approaches, that is, to define the categories of arms to be reduced, the methods of counting them, the procedure for exchanging data on the numbers of personnel and arms, the ceilings or levels of reductions, and the methods and procedure for eliminating imbalances. The sides could agree on these initial parameters in special working groups. After defining the categories of arms to be reduced, work will begin on selecting the first package of weapons to be reduced. It is known that the NATO countries would like restrict this package just to tanks and artillery, because the Warsaw Pact has the advantage in these arms. The plan is simple—the Warsaw Pact countries must make reductions while the NATO countries look on. They particularly want to avoid reductions in strike aircraft, combat helicopters, and other kinds of weapons in which they have the advantage.

However, the experience of wars and modern conflicts shows that precisely strike aircraft, tanks, combat helicopters, artillery—particularly volley fire systems—combat armored cars, and other means make up the potential for a surprise attack. There are imbalances in favor of both alliances with regard to these kinds of arms. Both alliances must eliminate them simultaneously and mutually. Just such a mutual packaged reduction will make it possible to prevent either side's security being harmed.

These are some problems and prospects of the talks, which are intended to open a new page in ensuring security throughout Europe.

NATO Arms Control 'Comprehensive Concept' Viewed

LD0103175289 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

A report of the British TIMES says that NATO's "comprehensive concept" on arms control and disarmament is being drafted. Experts are to draw up the concept before NATO heads of government meet in Brussels for a summit toward the end of May.

There is no doubt that the formulation of such a concept and its endorsement at the summit level should be welcomed. The existence of a scopeful long-term plan for the advance to a world where the volume of armaments would be at the minimum level necessary for defence would make it possible to promptly resolve questions at the talks on the reduction and limitation of armed forces and armaments.

The Warsaw Treaty countries have already worked out a comprehensive plan for achieving a non-nuclear, non-violent world. It was formulated in a number of documents of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation including the military doctrine of the allied countries, as well as in the statement of the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee of January 15, 1986. Elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces to the levels of reasonable sufficiency for defence are the main purposes set out in that plan.

Will the "comprehensive concept" now being drawn up by NATO be as scopeful and consistent? It is yet difficult to give an affirmative answer to this important question. Besides that, a number of aspects in the statements of certain representatives of the leadership of some NATO countries gives rise to concern. First of all, one cannot overlook assurances to the adherence to nuclear weapons and unshakeability of the principle of nuclear deterrence repeated in the West. Because of all this one can hardly hope that NATO's "comprehensive concept" would proclaim achievement of a nuclear weapons-free world as a long-term purpose. Besides that, even though the initial step to the elimination of nuclear weapons has already been taken—the Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being eliminated—it is precisely the Western side that puts obstacles to the continuation of this process.

There are serious differences in NATO on the question of the modernisation of tactical nuclear arms. And it is the USA and Britain that suggest such a modernisation. Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium of the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] told a news conference in Bonn that tactical nuclear weapons, to replace "Lance" missiles, are being developed in the USA. One would think the opinion on this matter can only be unambiguous: Modernisation of nuclear missiles means a step backwards, not forward.

The question of non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty and its observance in full volume within a specified period of time is posed acutely, too. Without such an obligation there is hardly a reason to hope for the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement on 50-per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms. Will this condition be reflected in the "comprehensive concept" of the North Atlantic Alliance? Deplorably, there are profound differences on this matter among NATO countries.

As regards conventional armaments, there is a positive fact that deserves to be mentioned: The participants in the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, starting in a few days' time, agreed to come to terms on the elimination of a potential for surprise attacks or launching large-scale offensive operations as one of the goals of future reductions. But a number of high-ranking NATO military and politicians continue to this day to declare for the preservation of the concept of "forward-based defences". Is this concept compatible with the above-mentioned purpose of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments? One would think it is quite the opposite: This strategic concept is aimed at ensuring the opportunity of staging a surprise attack and launching a large-scale offensive.

It is clear from what has been mentioned above how closely the military doctrine and military-strategic concepts are interwoven in the "comprehensive concept" of arms control and disarmament. It is hardly possible to work out an effective and realistic plan for the advance to security if the outdated doctrine and strategy remain intact. It is only their revision in keeping with new realities of the world that extends the hope for a positive result of the analytical work in which NATO experts are engaged now.

Pact Commission Discusses Upcoming Talks in Vienna

LD0103183889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1756 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Mar (TASS)—The fifth session of a special commission on disarmament questions of the

Warsaw Pact member-states took place in the Romanian capital on 28 February-1 March this year at deputy foreign minister level. The delegations were composed of senior representatives of the foreign and defense ministries of the allied states.

The session discussed questions relating to preparations for the talks which are opening in Vienna on the reduction of conventional armed forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. The question of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe was also considered.

I.P. Aboymov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, took part in the session's proceedings on the Soviet side.

The heads of delegations were received by I. Totu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The proceedings of the session took place in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere, and in a spirit of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation.

Warsaw Pact Tank Superiority in Europe Discussed

52000020 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 8, 25 Feb-3 Mar 1989 pp 4-5

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Shlykov: "Tank Asymmetry in Europe"]

[Text] In comparing the strength of the armed forces and armaments in Europe, Western mass media sources have repeatedly emphasized the superiority of the USSR and countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization over the NATO countries in tanks. From what did the tank asymmetry in Europe result? How much did the Soviet Union contribute to it? Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Shlykov responds to this question.

On 7 December 1988, the Soviet Union announced a unilateral reduction in the number of its tanks in Europe by 10,000. It will suffice to recall that on 22 July 1941 the onslaught of Hitler's Wehrmacht on the USSR began with the Army having about 4,300 tanks and assault guns in service in order to visualize graphically the magnitude of these numbers. On 1 September 1939, the Wehrmacht began World War II with 3,000 tanks. This number turned out to be sufficient for Hitler to conquer almost all of Europe.

Certainly, most of our readers are not aware that the tank asymmetry interpreted as the numerical superiority of the Soviet Union in tanks has now existed for more than half a century, from the early 1930's. This is easy to explain taking into account the fact that Soviet military history texts and military memoir sources argued until very recently that the overwhelming German superiority in tanks was one of the main causes of failures by our armed forces in the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. Over the years of World War II, the USSR manufactured more tanks than any other state of the world, including the U.S.

After World War II as well, the Soviet Union has not yielded to anyone its position as the first tank power in the world. Total output of tanks in the Soviet Union is unknown. However, according to estimates by Western experts, the USSR has produced after World War II about 100,000 tanks of the five types currently in service with the Soviet Armed Forces alone (T-54/55, T-62, T-64, T-72 and T-80). This includes more than 50,000 T-54/55's and 20,000 T-62's.

Determining the number of tanks made in the NATO countries is no problem at all because not one of the NATO member countries has ever concealed statistics on tank production, the number of tanks in service with the troops, or capacity of its tank plants.

Over the postwar period, 1946 through 1987, the NATO countries produced 60,500 tanks.

The current "tank asymmetry" could have never emerged had the West responded to the Soviet "tank challenge" by a corresponding increase in its own tank might. However, this was not the case. Moreover, at the time the USSR began to boost tank production, say, the U.S. began moving right in the opposite direction. That country began to wind down its tank industry clearly drawing the USSR into a tank "offside" of sorts.

On the other hand, the adherents of the "tank philosophy" in the USSR saw nuclear weapons as the supermeans intended to clear the path for in-depth tank strikes at the enemy rear areas.

Under contemporary conditions, when the understanding prevails that in a missile and nuclear war there will be no winner, all of these statements look very obsolete. However, in the 1960's and 1970's this approach played a role in exacerbating the tank asymmetry in Europe.

Over 10 years between 1960 and 1969, the U.S. made only 5,072 tanks, or four times less than in the previous decade. American tank production declined particularly abruptly in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Beginning in the second half of the 1970's, the U.S. considerably expanded production and procurement of tanks for the U.S. Army, as a result of which its fleet of tanks grew from 12,821 in 1981 to 14,296 in 1987, and the USSR-U.S. asymmetry declined from 5:1 in 1975 to 3:1 at present.

Data on the strength of the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO in Europe published in late January give us a clear idea of the asymmetries and imbalances which have emerged. We should also mention asymmetries in favor of NATO. For example, while the strength of the ground and air forces is approximately equal, the strength of the naval forces of the North Atlantic alliance exceed that of the Warsaw Treaty Organization twofold.

NATO is superior to the Warsaw Treaty Organization in the number of attack aircraft of frontal (tactical) and naval aviation, helicopter gunships, and antitank missile systems.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization holds superiority in tanks, in tactical missile launchers, interceptor aircraft, infantry fighting vehicles, and armored personnel carriers.

On 6 March, talks between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO countries devoted to discussing the asymmetries which have emerged will open in Vienna. The goal of the talks is to arrive at reduced levels of armed forces and to repattern the military structures of the two alliances with a view to making them defensive in nature.

Effects of Conversion on Soviet Military Strength

For a discussion of the need for an overall economic plan for converting military production to consumer production, including its effects on Soviet military strength, see a NEDELYA article by B. Rayzberg published under the headline "Plan To Convert Military Production Urged" in the economic section of today's DAILY REPORT.

Implications of Cuban Missile Crisis Viewed

PM0103145789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov, IZVESTIYA political observer, under the rubric "In the Critical Light of Glasnost": "More About the Caribbean Crisis"; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The two main characters, N.S. Khrushchev and John Kennedy, have long since died. But many of the others, although 26 years older, are alive and well. Sitting in on the sessions for 2 days, I was able to see and hear at close quarters people who, just by the very fact of being involved in the Caribbean drama, have earned a place in the pages of history. I will list their names and positions at that time: A.A. Gromyko, USSR foreign minister; A.F. Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to Washington; A.I. Alekseyev, Soviet ambassador to Havana; Robert McNamara, U.S. secretary of defense; McGeorge Bundy, adviser to the U.S. President on national security issues; Theodore Sorensen, special adviser to the President; General W. Smith, deputy chairman of the joint group of U.S. Armed Forces chiefs of staff; and others. As a sign of the new times, the Soviet side had included an original family element in its delegation. N.S. Khrushchev was represented by his son, Sergey, who remembered well those days and, what is more, quoted from his father's memoirs, which, incidentally, have not been published in our country. The late A.I. Mikoyan was also represented by his son, Sergo, a well-known specialist on Latin America. As for the Cuban delegation, it was led by Jorge Risquet Valdes, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, and included Rafael Hernandez, who was chief of the Cuban General Staff at that time. The Soviet and American sides were also well represented by political scientists and historians: G.A. Arbatov, D.A. Volkogonov, Ye.M. Primakov, G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, and Harvard professors Joseph Nye, Graham Allison, James Blayt [name as published], and others.

My task is not to give a detailed account of how, reviving the mood of the time, the participants created a dramatic picture of entering the crisis and emerging from it. Especially as a great deal has already been recounted by my colleague, IZVESTIYA correspondent Melor Sturua (IZVESTIYA, No 38, 1989). I will endeavor to look at the Caribbean episode from a fresh angle—from the standpoint of glasnost and the lessons which it requires us to learn, which are not being learned so easily. But before embarking on my discussion, I will remind you of the basic facts.

The Caribbean crisis blew up because Soviet missiles were transferred to Cuba. Cuba is separated from the American shore by 150 km. The range of the R-12 missiles transferred there was equivalent to 2,000 km. Some R-14 missiles were also on the way, which had a range of 4,000 kilometres, but the Soviet ships transporting them were stopped by the U.S. naval blockade of Cuba. They managed to convey some of the nuclear warheads to the missiles, although, as Soviet sources point out, not one of them was actually installed—not even when the crisis was at its height.

So what were the Soviet motives? To defend Cuba and strengthen its defense capability, which, in the view of the Soviet leadership, was threatened by a new invasion after the one that failed in the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. The Cuban motives? In consenting to the stationing of the Soviet missiles, the Cuban leadership was proceeding from the idea of enhancing not only the defense capability of its own country but also that of the entire socialist camp, out of solidarity and in line with the understood interests of the common cause. The American motives? To ensure by any means, even going as far as aerial bomb attacks and the invasion of Cuba by several divisions, that they were rid of the Soviet nuclear missiles capable of covering a large area of U.S. territory, including not only the south, but also the northeast, with the capital, Washington, and other major centers such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Dallas, Saint Louis, Atlanta, and others.

Moscow regarded the missiles in Cuba as defensive weapons and as a means of at least partially redressing the strategic imbalance, which inclined sharply to the U.S. favor at that time. According to McNamara, the United States was 17 times superior to the USSR in strategic nuclear warheads—5,000 against 300. Washington regarded the missiles in Cuba as offensive weapons (although a similar type of U.S. missile was stationed in Turkey at the time and was "tolerated" by the Soviet Union). Washington claimed that, before the Caribbean crisis, it had no intention of invading Cuba.

And so the sides did not understand each other and did not trust one another, and these differences in interpretation of motives and intentions have remained unsurmounted for 26 years.

On one key point, however, their assessments, if not their interpretations, coincided. They could not fail to coincide. The Soviet missiles had been transferred to Cuba in secret.

It was precisely the secrecy of this action that prompted the particularly determined rejection by the Kennedy administration. As one of the American participants noted at the symposium, "the severity of our reaction can be explained, in particular, by the fact that we were deceived, that it was a deliberate, conscious deception." Another pointed out that the U.S. missiles in Turkey had been stationed there openly, that the American and world public knew of their existence.

It was precisely the secrecy of this step taken by Moscow that worked powerfully and primarily to the advantage of the "hawks" in America to justify and reinforce the image of an enemy prepared to stop at nothing to defeat the United States—the main obstacle in the way of its historical aim: world communist supremacy. It was the

Soviet secrecy that largely prompted the ultimatum nature of the U.S. line in the solution of the crisis, which manifested itself in the establishment of a "quarantine" blocking the way to Soviet vessels and in the demand that the missiles be immediately dismantled and removed. Passions on the U.S. political stage were heated still further by the fact that only a few days were left until the next "midterm" elections and, in circumstances like these, the U.S. president had to "stand 10 feet tall" in confrontation with another nuclear power.

Moscow meanwhile, not going into all these American subtleties, merely acted in its **usual way**: secretly making decisions concerning military affairs and secretly putting them into effect. In other words, Moscow acted in the spirit of the traditional **old thinking**. One could hardly have expected that this secret would not be discovered by U.S. intelligence, which followed Cuba closely and was concerned by the nature of its growing ties with the Soviet Union. But therein lies the particular strength of the old thinking, strong by virtue of its tradition: It far from always lends itself to rational explanation and exists within a vacuum, from which public pressure has been "pumped" and where authoritarianism gives rise to voluntarism.

Judging from the evidence given by the Soviet participants in the symposium, the question of supplying arms to Cuba was studied collectively and in depth by the Soviet leadership over a period of several months. But the graphic nature of this decision, its risky, adventurist nature, or, to assume a complimentary tone, its "revolutionary romanticism," are expressed best of all, in my view, by words ascribed to N.S. Khrushchev. He is alleged to have said that the Americans "should have a hedgehog put down their trousers." That is what they did, concentrating their imagination, in Russian fashion, solely on how ticklish and frightening it would be for the one who found a hedgehog in his trousers and, in Russian fashion, not troubling themselves to consider that this person might not simply panic but fly into a fury.

The question arises in passing: How would Washington have reacted if Moscow had acted differently, openly? One wonders whether we would have succeeded in that case in delivering the load to the address and using it as the political bargaining chip which it ultimately proved to be; after all, having navigated the lethal reefs of the Caribbean crisis, we did actually succeed in achieving the desired agreement with the United States that is still observed to this day—to exchange the evacuation of the Soviet missiles for a U.S. pledge not to touch Cuba by armed means. Behind these questions, which it is impossible to answer with any accuracy, lies a kind of consolation: All's well that ends well; every cloud has a silver lining. But, drawing this wisdom in hindsight, we cannot guarantee that the greatest evil of all—a global conflict involving nuclear weapons—did not await us on this path to good through evil.

However, I will leave aside the question of the admissibility of such scenarios and return to my main point—our obsession with secrecy and secrets, about which, fortunately, it is now possible to talk and write.

On 18 October 1962, President Kennedy received USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko in the Oval Office of the White House. In the drawer of his desk, the President had some photographs taken by U.S. reconnaissance aircraft which showed the deployment of Soviet missiles in combat positions. Their conversation, which was pointed, focused on the German peace settlement and Cuba. The President assured Gromyko that he had no intention of attacking Cuba, while the minister defended Cuba's right to strengthen its defense. But.... But the U.S. President did not take the photographic evidence from his desk drawer and the Soviet minister did not tell him that, contrary to previous assurances, Soviet nuclear missiles were being taken to Cuba and established there. This reticence was subsequently presented as proof of Moscow's evil intentions. The explanation given by Gromyko in his memoirs—and at the symposium—was that Kennedy did not ask him directly about the missiles and so the need for a direct answer never arose.

Gromyko knew about the missiles. But Ambassador Dobrynin (and he reaffirmed this at the symposium) did not know about them. Also unaware were our diplomats, journalists, and other staffers in Washington and New York, although they could have guessed from the U.S. reports: There is no smoke without a fire. It was a well kept secret and, as is the custom in our country, it continued to be kept from our people even when others had discovered it. Photographs of the Soviet missiles in Cuba appeared in the U.S. press and Soviet diplomats had to deny, refute, and even denounce, "proving" to the Americans that these were not missiles at all, or not missiles in Cuba, and that the photographs were a forgery and provocation.

Yes, this secrecy, which was not removed—or only belatedly removed—did not simply become an absurdity. It meant the Americans lost faith in our representatives, which in turn caused considerable state damage. It is not only immoral, it is also politically disadvantageous to place oneself "above" common human morality.

At that time I was working as an IZVESTIYA correspondent in New York and, as luck would have it, was hospitalized with an attack of acute appendicitis on 21 October, the day before Kennedy's speech on television in which he reported the missiles in Cuba and announced the naval "quarantine." Lying in my hospital bed with a portable radio in my hands, I listened to direct broadcasts from the Security Council sessions hall. Associates of Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, brought screens into the hall with the revealing photographs and set them up. A. Stevenson asked the Soviet representative, V.A. Zorin: "Mr. Ambassador, tell us, are there Soviet medium- and intermediate-range missiles in Cuba? Tell us, without waiting for the interpreter, yes or no?" Zorin's voice came over the radio in Russian: "I am not in a U.S. court, Mr. Stevenson."

Later, in the TASS account of the Soviet representative's speech published in Soviet newspapers, I read: "V.A. Zorin denounced the allegations dredged up from the mire by members of the U.S. State Department regarding the so-called 'establishment of Soviet missile bases' in Cuba...." Another TASS report read: "At Stevenson's command, forgeries produced by the CIA were displayed in the Security Council hall. Then, parrot-fashion, the U.S. delegate read out the explanations fabricated by U.S. intelligence."

Our diplomats had a hard time of it. It was only on 25 October, the fourth day in the main phase of the crisis, that N.S. Khrushchev made their position easier by calling the missiles missiles in a conversation with an American businessman. But even then, this word still seemed to be forbidden, because the conversation was only reported in the American press and not in the Soviet press.

However, the specific agonies of Soviet diplomats and correspondents were nothing in comparison to the gigantic fact that for some reason failed to attract proper attention: **Our entire nation had been brought to the brink of a nuclear abyss without being aware of it** and without having the opportunity to understand the causes—the objective causes!—of this extreme situation. It was the real, somber **apotheosis of secrecy**.

From the objective viewpoint this can perfectly well be called misleading the people or at any rate total disregard for their right to know things which raise the question of their life and death. Actually, there was not even a mention of any right at the time. There was not even a whiff of glasnost on that plane. And only after 28 October, when in an emergency exchange of messages between N.S. Khrushchev and J. Kennedy the terms of a compromise were finally elaborated, did that key word—missiles—begin to penetrate to our press, but even then not immediately. Only after they had withdrawn from the brink did our people begin to understand what kind of a brink they had been standing on. And it was only retroactively that they were taken aback.

My claim may seem excessive. But leaf through the newspaper files of those days. Never once did a word offering a solution, a word offering acknowledgement, appear in them. The Americans knew it, the Cubans did too, but our people did not. In the newspapers of those days you will discover a mass of items about the crisis, columns with the ritual banner headlines branding American imperialism like (and I quote verbatim): Curb the unbridled American aggressors! Stop the reckless playing with fire! Thwart the aggressive plans of the U.S. imperialists! The peoples demand: Put an end to the pirates' excesses. Tame the thugs; defend peace! And in all this routine rhetorical spate of verbiage there was nothing about the subject of the crisis.

Growing ruder and louder, the newspapers merely reflected the tone of official documents and that tone's drastic overfalls. Thus, the Soviet Government's 23 October statement described Washington's actions as "unprecedented and aggressive." And in the final phase of the crisis, N.S. Khrushchev's 28 October message to President Kennedy said: "To reassure the U.S. people-...the Soviet Government, in addition to the instructions it has previously given on ceasing further work at the construction sites to station weapons, has issued a new order to dismantle the weapons which you call offensive, to crate them, and to return them to the Soviet Union." Notice that even here there is only "...weapons which you call offensive."

I do not want thus to create the impression that N.S. Khrushchev and the composition of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium at the time were not concerned for the destiny of the country and people. Precisely the opposite is shown by the speed with which Moscow agreed to the conditions of the compromise with Washington, promising the Americans that it would withdraw its missiles in exchange for their commitment not to invade Cuba and without even having time to inform Havana (the wound thus inflicted on Fidel Castro was healed by A.I. Mikoyan, who was hastily dispatched to Cuba).

But it is something else which should be stressed: how the people's fate was determined. And at the time this was still in the order of things. In spite of the historically important act of bidding farewell to the mass repressions, Khrushchev's decade, like the subsequent Brezhnev years, retained the most persistent generic features of Stalin's system of state rule. In 1962 Khrushchev was simply not faced with the question of whether he and the other leaders of the time had the right to risk their people's destiny to help another people, the Cuban people. That right, like other authoritarian rights in the foreign policy field, was implicit. And they perplexed and frightened the West's bourgeois-democratic governments, which did not have such rights since they were hobbled in their actions by the parliaments.

Incidentally, this discrepancy in methods (I emphasize, in methods, and not in social nature) of state rule aggravates distrust, even without taking into account other factors, and complicates the practice of cooperation, even where there is agreement regarding the common principles of peaceful coexistence between the two systems. The creation of a rule-of-law state in the Soviet Union will eliminate many of these obstacles. Democracy is a complex concept which is different for different countries, still more so for different systems, but any operational and not merely ostensible democracy means domestic and foreign policy through the people's will. And that means for all the world to see. The actions of the rule-of-law state are more predictable than those of an authoritarian state and this of itself already facilitates dialogue and cooperation in the international arena.

We are not in the habit in our country of writing about how the "top level" decisions were taken in those days and how alternatives were worked out. In terms of his unique experience of 50 years of participation in world politics there is no one on the planet now like A.A. Gromyko. But in his memoirs, describing his talk with Kennedy, he does not state what he told Khrushchev in his diplomatic dispatches from Washington or on his return to Moscow. And the symposium has done nothing much to break this silence.

How are we to explain the traditional taciturnity of our statesmen when history itself demands that they frankly share their experience and thus make what contribution they can to eliminating one of our most acute shortages—the shortage of political culture, which can be felt too in the present cost of the democratic process? By the same old obsession with secrecy? By the unique vow of silence which our leading circles impose upon themselves from one generation to the next? Or by the conspiratorial approach institutionalized by Stalin to retain all echelons of a power not accountable to the people—an approach which has become second nature?

Were lessons derived from the Caribbean crisis? On a narrow plane—yes, inasmuch as since then we have not transported nuclear missiles across the ocean.

As for lessons on a broader plane, much remains obscure, as they say. In that key field where foreign policy issues touch on military issues, the public has access only to documents of a general, often merely declarative nature, but not to the key strategic decisions which determined our military building, decisions which were taken in those years and have already become the possession of history.

In the 15-20 years after the Caribbean crisis, having mastered its lessons, especially after the removal of Khrushchev, the Soviet Union made up for its lag in strategic nuclear weapons. Some 10 years after the Caribbean crisis the 1972 Soviet-U.S. interim agreement on strategic arms limitations (SALT I) enshrined approximate parity and froze for 5 years the ceilings which existed at the time on ground-launched and submarine-launched strategic missiles. But these figures, included in textbooks available to the general public abroad, were kept secret in our country for a long time. Need we mention that the scale and pace of military building was, as before, kept strictly secret. In the middle of the seventies the U.S. opponents of detente concluded that in terms of this pace the USSR was outstripping the United States and consequently striving not for the maintenance of parity but for superiority. This conclusion was disputed on our side, but without figures and data at hand, and therefore unconvincingly for our opponents and adversaries. As a result their views prevailed in the U.S. military-political establishment and in the public awareness, which in 1980 helped Reagan to beat the "spineless" Carter and, having become President, to pass through Congress a gigantic and far from secret program for building up arms. That was the U.S. response not only to our military building but also to our secrecy.

Another and most topical example of the reality in which the bureaucratic norm triumphs over the democratic norm is Afghanistan and our 9-year war, which has only just ended, to the people's great relief. Let's leave aside the question, now being put openly, of how we got there and why we stayed there so long. Let's take something else which only our unusual tolerance for everything could have brought. Soviet people fought and died on foreign land in peace time (after all, we had not declared war on anyone!) yet society, the people, and the mothers of these men were even denied the right to ask publicly how many men were fighting there and how many had died or been wounded. Of course, people wrote about this to the organs of power and to the press but "officially" the people kept silent. Throughout this time not a single query about Afghanistan was made in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Nor could it have been made. From the viewpoint of the citizens of the United States, France, Japan, India, or many other countries, this is something unimaginable, and before restructuring, before glasnost, we could not imagine anything else. And the inertia of the old thinking and the old way is so strong that it continues to operate even in the period of renewal, growing obsolete only very slowly, because there is not enough public pressure and the leadership perhaps cannot reach to everything.

Only 8 and ½ years after our troops had gone into Afghanistan, only after the conclusion of the Geneva agreements and the start of the first 3-month stage of the withdrawal did the Soviet people learn through **their own** mass media that the limited contingent of Soviet troops had numbered something on the order of 100,000 servicemen. Although **foreign** mass media had long cited approximately the same figure and the fact that the 40th Army was hiding behind the pseudonym of the limited contingent of Soviet troops.

Only 8 and ½ years later did Soviet people learn the official figures for the losses in Afghanistan. How, where, and when did this happen? On 25 May 1988, at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, which is geared more to foreign correspondents then to our own, within the framework of preparation for the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, reported that as of early May 1988 the number of dead was 13,310, there were 35,478 wounded, and 311 missing. Foreign correspondents reported this more widely than our own correspondents. The Soviet newspapers hid the bitter figures on their inside pages, in the middle of brief reports about the press conference. No headlines and, as far as a I know, not a single commentary.

How to explain this lack of feeling? By the same thing—the absence of the authorities' commitment, enshrined in law, to report to the citizens even when it is a case of the most sacred thing—human life. But I think there is also a more specific reason—the lack of a clear, considered, and as it were, automated mechanism of information.

...As you can see, I have been diverted from the tripartite symposium devoted to the Caribbean crisis. But diverted toward a topic of the day. Now, albeit very belatedly, the time has come for the first time to ask yesterday's awkward questions which also fully apply to the present and urgently demand exhaustive and constructive replies so that we can move into the future. These answers are given by glasnost, which is asserting itself as the unfailing norm of state and public life. These answers should be given in the course of political reform, whose main task I see in creating democratic structures of power accountable to the people and taking sensitive account of their will.

Soviet UN Association Board Meets in Moscow 1 Mar

LD0103221189 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—An enlarged meeting of the board of the Soviet U.N. Association took place here today. It discussed the tasks of the organisation in the light of proposals to raise the role and efficiency of U.N. activities, which were set out by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly.

The meeting heard information on the preparation for the 32nd session of the plenary assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations to be held in Moscow next autumn. It will discuss the U.N. role in ensuring global security, its political, social, economic and humanitarian aspects.

United States & Canada

Bush PRC Visit, Talks With Leaders Viewed

PM0103145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "What G. Bush's Trip to China Has Shown"]

[Text] Beijing—Despite the brevity of the visit by U.S. President G. Bush to China, observers note the fullness of his program, and the importance of the issues broached by the sides in the process of the talks.

Another detail may also be noted: A U.S. President has perhaps never set off on a tour of Asian countries only 1 month after entering office. Of course, it should not be forgotten that the doleful ceremony in Japan was the reason for this. But nonetheless, judging by the words of G. Bush and his entourage, "America is largely a Pacific rather than an Atlantic nation."

So, a 40-hour lightning visit and meetings with virtually all China's main leaders. In addition to Deng Xiaoping, G. Bush talked with Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and others. "We are making a strategic decision on questions of internal and foreign policy, based on the peoples' fundamental interests. We are not playing 'cards,' and we are not resorting to subterfuge," Deng Xiaoping said to his guest. Prospects for Sino-Soviet relations, whose development was examined by the sides as a factor favoring peace and stability, were discussed precisely in this context.

Attention was also focused on problems of bilateral relations. The sides confirmed the correctness of the principles of the three communiques: 1972, 1979, and 1982 that define the character of their relations. But Li Peng, premier of the State Council, noted in frank conversation that some forces in the United States are trying to influence diverse aspects of China's policy, and are interfering in its internal affairs which, naturally, casts a shadow over friendly interstate relations.

The Taiwan question is the stumbling block in Sino-U.S. relations. Beijing is expressing concern that attempts to create the political structures of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" are once again making themselves felt. G. Bush assured the Chinese leadership that the United States adheres to the policy of "one China" and is against actions directed at splitting the country.

During his conversation with Zhao Ziyang, the President was informed in detail of the progress of China's reforms. Now, in Zhao Ziyang's opinion, there are two tendencies: Some people believe that the reform is not going the right way and that it is necessary to turn back; others assess the difficulties as political in nature and propose searching for a solution among Western models. There are only a few such people, but they are provoking social unrest and are ignoring China's real conditions. The support being shown for these people by certain U.S. circles is damaging political stability in China and Sino-U.S. relations, Zhao Ziyang added.

The President's trip gave him the opportunity to see the dynamism and openness of the reform policy, and the great potential invested in the two countries' economic and scientific and technical cooperation. Nonetheless, despite significant progress in the sphere of bilateral trade and economic ties (in 10 years there has been a 10-fold increase in the volume of trade; the United States is in fourth place as a trading partner of the PRC), it is believed that by no means all the potential is being utilized here.

The removal of artificial barriers and a more realistic view on many questions of the partners' internal and foreign policies would, undoubtedly, have a positive influence not only on the development of bilateral ties, because relations between the United States and the PRC are a substantial aspect of world politics, especially because they belong to different social systems.

'Pragmatism' Urged in U.S.-PRC-USSR Triad

OW0103100189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 28 Feb 89

[(Yevgeniy Shevarsiyanov) commentary]

[Text] A few days ago, Bush, the 41st President of the United States, concluded a visit to Japan, China, and South Korea. In view of the upcoming Sino-Soviet summit, observers have closely watched Bush's talks in Beijing. Our station observer (Yevgeniy Shevarsiyanov) writes the following commentary on certain aspects of Bush's visit to China.

While Bush was in Beijing, the Chinese leaders told him that the development of Sino-Soviet relations will not undermine their special close ties with the United States, and they expressed the hope to further expand cooperation with the United States during the current administration. At the same time, during the meeting with Bush, Deng Xiaoping expressed the hope that U.S.-Soviet relations will further improve. Bush also pledged to further deepen the process of detente and disarmament and welcomed the improved relations between the Soviet Union and China. He said: Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to China is a positive event.

However, problems still exist in Sino-U.S. relations. For example, during a conversation with Bush, Deng Xiaoping said: There are still a number of problems in China's relations with the United States. In his talks with the U.S. President, Chinese Premier Li Peng also pointed out: Some people in the United States still attempt to influence China's policy and interfere in its internal affairs. He stressed that such an attempt by some people in the U.S. Government will certainly cast a shadow over bilateral relations. During the meeting with Bush, Li Peng also brought up the Taiwan issue. Bush assured him that the U.S. Government is firm on implementing the one-China policy.

All in all, in my opinion, U.S. President Bush's talks in Beijing show that the triangular relationship between China, the United States, and the Soviet Union should be based on pragmatism so there will be brighter prospects for a wholesome international situation. In this way, it will be possible for the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and other countries to concentrate all their efforts on solving the common task of the mankind—that is, the task of human survival.

Bush Autobiography Published in Russian

LD0203140289 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—Soviet Progress publishers have brought out an autobiography by U.S. President George Bush in Russian in response to Soviet people's desire to form their own opinions about the political views of foreign leaders, Progress director Aleksandr Avelichev announced on Thursday.

He was speaking at a ceremony at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre, where the book, "Looking Forward", was formally launched.

Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said that it is the first autobiography by a U.S. President ever to be published in the Soviet Union.

Adamishin, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Ties, CSCE

LD0103105589 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Anatoliy Adamishin, Soviet deputy foreign minister, received U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock on Tuesday at his request.

They discussed several issues related to the implementation of the agreements reached at the Vienna meeting of countries-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE], as well as bilateral relations.

Cooperation Protocol Signed With U.S. Banks

LD0103031089 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, February 28 TASS—To establish closer business contacts in financing, mutual understanding in banking—such are the purposes of the protocol on cooperation signed here today by the First National Bank of Chicago (U.S.A.) and four Soviet specialised banks: the Bank of Foreign Economic Activity, the Agro-Industrial Bank, Industry and Construction Bank, and Bank of Housing, Communal Services and Social Development.

The document envisages exchange of information, consulations, quest for clients to implement various projects on the territory of the USSR and on the territory of the U.S.A., creation of beneficial conditions for financing and activity of joint ventures, removal of financial risk in mutual crediting.

To implement the tasks set, the American and Soviet banks agreed to set up joint working groups which will meet at least once every six months to discuss current questions of cooperation. The working groups will consist of specialists interested in implementing some or other project, partners in joint enterprises. Working groups will be rendering assistance to all organisations and persons interested in setting up joint ventures or in other forms of mutually advantageous cooperation, including financing of separate projects.

Speaking at the ceremony of the signing of the protocol, William McDonough, deputy chairman of the Board of Directors of the First National Bank of Chicago, noted that this document will promote the consolidation of confidence and mutual understanding among businessmen of America and the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

Japan-USSR Working Group To Meet 19-21 Mar

OW0203104589 Tokyo KYODO in English 1011 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Tokyo, March 2 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union will hold a meeting of vice foreign ministers in Tokyo March 19-21 for talks toward conclusion of a bilateral peace treaty, government sources said Thursday.

Deputy Foreign Minister Takakazu Kuriyama will head the Japanese team, while the Soviet delegation is to be led by Igor Rogachev, vice foreign minister.

This will be the inaugural session of the vice minister-level working group, which was established during consultations between Foreign Ministers Sosuke Uno and Eduard Shevardnadze in Tokyo in December.

Japan will reiterate its demand for the return of four islands off Hokkaido seized and held by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, the sources said.

Uno and Shevardnadze "... Expressed their respective understanding on the historical and political aspects relating to the elimination of the difficulties existing in their bilateral relations," according to a Japan-Soviet joint communique issued in December.

Japanese officials say the difficulties mentioned mean the territorial dispute.

Japanese Official on Hyogo-Khabarovsk Exchange

OW0103091389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Interview with Takefumi Tachibana, managing director of the Japanese- Soviet Association, Hyogo Prefecture Chapter, in Khabarovsk on Japanese-Soviet ties; date of interview not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] In today's first report on Khabarovsk we would like to introduce remarks by Mr Takefumi Tachibana, managing director of the Japanese-Soviet Association, Hyogo Prefecture Chapter, from an interview with us.

Mr Tachibana, managing director of the Japanese-Soviet Association, Hyogo Prefecture Chapter, paid a visit to Khabarovsk in mid-February, and met with Mr (Pasternak), first secretary of the CPSU Khabarovsk Committee, and two deputy governors of the Khabarovsk Oblast, Mr (Morozov) and Mr (Stridkova).

In the interview conducted in Khabarovsk, Managing Director Tachibana said the following:

[Tachibana] It has been exactly 10 years since friendly relations were established in 1979 between Hyogo Prefecture and Khabarovsk Oblast. Since then various exchange activities, such as mutual visits of delegations and exchanges of cultural programs, have been carried out between the two areas.

We came here this time as this week falls on the 10th anniversary of the establishment of relations. We came with the hope of seeing that the friendly relations between the two areas will continue to grow. [Words indistinct] and so that children of the Khabarovsk area and Hyogo Prefecture may become acquainted with each other, we are contemplating inviting Khabarovsk children to visit Hyogo Prefecture this year.

On the other hand, the Far East Ensemble is in Khabarovsk. We would like to invite this ensemble to play at three sites in Hyogo Prefecture this year, which will be a good way of introducing the Khabarovsk culture to the people of Hyogo. [passage omitted]

Businessman Views ROK's Economic Development

PM0103104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Yi Tong-kun, president of Korean Systems, by G. Ni-li: "We Must Start Small, South Korean Businessman Believes"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Korea Systems is not the biggest company in the south of the Korean Peninsula. But there are many places indicated on the map of sales of the company's personal computers, and it is quite possible that in the near future company President Yi Ton-kun will draw in another red line on the map to link Inchon with Moscow. This was the reason for the president's visit to the USSR. We talked about many problems, but I was interested most of all in the answer to a perfectly straightforward question...

[Ni-li] Forgive me if my question seems indiscreet, Mr Yi, but how did you become a millionaire?

[Yi] That is by no means a simple question. By no means. The fact is that my climb up the business ladder coincided with the upsurge in our entire economy. I was born in 1948, and then the war lasted until 1953. It was tough in the postwar period, too, when we were isolated from the rest of the world. "If you see a Japanese, kill him," was what Syngman Rhee had taught us... In 1963 we set our sights on attracting foreign loans to the country. We had no other option. We had to open our doors to the world in order to feed and clothe people.

This explains the fact that our main production capacity was developed in the consumer goods sector. We made dresses and shoes, arranging production in such a way that we could both clothe our fellow citizens and sell our output abroad for a profit.

[Ni-li] Weren't you afraid of competition, in America for instance, where I believe there has been no shortage of clothes or footwear for a long time?

[Yi] We relied on our cheap labor. This was how we were able to supply cheaper goods overseas. But this, it so happened, was not enough. Overseas customers turned out to be fussy, and low prices alone did not interest them. They made their purchases on the basis of quality and appeal... How many shades of red are you aware of? It seems that each people has its own ideas about the appeal of certain kinds of red. We Koreans like one kind and Americans like others. When we supplied dresses to America, for instance, we did so on the basis of our own ideas. Unfortunately, these were not the same as American ideas. That's just one detail, but I mention it to show that there were more mistakes than profits when we were starting off. Experience, too, has to be paid for, and in dollars, too. And we had to pay.

[Ni-li] Might I digress for a moment. Did you also have to pay for your American university education?

[Yi] No, things there were slightly different. After graduating from Seoul University and doing my army service, I went to Florida and enrolled in the university. At first virtually nobody paid any attention to me. Or so it seemed. But after my freshman year I suddenly got a scholarship—the professors had decided that I was worth investing in. The situation is much the same in our tertiary establishments, too. They are very hard to get into. It's said that at school you have to sleep just 4 rather than 5 hours a night, and devote all the rest of your time to studies.

But let's get back to business. I, too, made mistakes while I was "learning." When, on returning to Seoul following my studies and a short period of work in America, I decided to go into business, I started off—like most people—in light industry. My factory produced raincoats. Pretty women's raincoats. We sent this product to the United States, confident that its high quality and low price would win over the market. We had a disappointment in store. Our raincoats went virtually unsold. The trouble was that we had made our raincoats to fit the petite Korean woman, and they weren't suitable for the fuller American figure.

[Ni-li] I get the impression, nonetheless, that you mainly geared your output to the export market. Why was that? Was the domestic market saturated? Or was it because of high prices overseas?

[Yi] No. The domestic market was not saturated. In those days the word "shortage" was a firm fixture in our vocabulary. Add to that the virtual absence of imports. The whole problem was the won, our currency, which was uncompetitive on the world's foreign exchanges. Nothing—neither new machine tools nor modern technology—could be bought with won... You needed dollars. These had to be earned. How? By trading natural resources? But resources are not endless, and the country needed them. This means we had to gradually enter the world market with products whose production we could handle. In addition, we had to provide incentives for saturating the domestic market with the same goods by creating conditions under which we would at least not have to compete with strong rivals in our own backyard. Hence we minimized imports of consumer goods...

[Ni-li] Might not your "protected" industry have grown used to these conditions and ultimately abandoned the foreign market?

[Yi] This was prevented, in the first place, by competition among enterprises themselves within the country. And in the second place, enterprises earning foreign exchange for the country were given more favorable credit terms, above all for foreign-currency credit. But production had to be improved. That meant we needed dollars. One thing led to another, and everyone pulled the country forward together. The old Oriental saying about small beginnings leading to great things became a practical reality for us. We do not have a single company that did not start off as a barely noticeable workshop before reaching its present size. Samsung, for instance, started by producing toothbrushes. Lucky Goldstar started by making knitting needles. Today these concerns produce everything, including machine tools and the most complex electronic equipment...

And our company, too, having accumulated a certain amount of capital, was able to build a plant at Inchon...

[Ni-li] Forgive me, are computers just a passing fad or are they really necessary? How are you tackling the problem of competition in the world market?

[Yi] I would say yet again that it all depends on quality. That is the easiest and hardest point at the same time. For instance, I'm sure that a slovenly dresser with unwashed hair—forgive the down-to-earth image—and dirty shoes working at an untidy workplace will not produce quality work. You know what I spent most time on during my first year here at the plant? On making sure the work area was clean and telling the workers to dress well and tidily. I persuaded everyone. And in just the same way I explained to each person what we were producing, why we were producing it, and what it would mean for them personally and the country as a whole. As a result, our computers were selling on the world market a year later. I admit that I would very much like to find an enterprise to cooperate with in the Soviet Union. I'm more than confident that the level of your technical thinking will enable your output to find major markets in a very short period of time.

[Ni-li] Businessmen, as a rule, don't say what they don't mean. Have you already got your eye on a specific firm in the USSR?

[Yi] Unfortunately, on my first visit I wasn't able to visit a single plant or factory, and without that, as you can realize, it is impossible to make even any preliminary plans.

[Ni-li] During your business meetings in Moscow did you meet with members of cooperatives? As you know, we are pinning great hopes on the enterprise and business skills of newly established cooperatives.

[Yi] Yes, I did have a few meetings. Yet it seemed to me that Soviet cooperatives are mainly geared to the services sphere. After all, money can be made in that area more quickly, and potential profits are more clearly discernible. But I'm firmly convinced that real prospects lie solely in production, and, moreover, the kind of production that the country particularly needs now and will continue to need in the near future. For some reason I didn't encounter a single cooperative producing soap or washing powder... Yet these products are in great demand both on the domestic market and abroad. There is one rule that has been borne out by our experience as a whole and mine in particular: If you really want to do business you have to think above all about the interests of your state and its citizens, and only subsequently about personal gain...

[Ni-li] Forgive me Mr Yi, but it's funny to hear that coming from a capitalist...

[Yi] There's nothing funny about it. It's a fundamental marketing principle. Society's needs are determined by the needs of the consumer. And any businessman worth his salt is geared purely to the interests of the consumer.

[Ni-li] We seem to have strayed from the main issue somewhat. So how did you become a millionaire?

[Yi] I think I've answered that one, although perhaps I can add a recollection from my childhood. When I was a teenager I, like many of my contemporaries, had a serious bowel disease. This was a result of hunger having forced us to eat the bark of trees and suck out the pithy insides of twigs... I remember that and always will. I really want to make sure that my children don't have to go through the same thing.

RSFSR-DPRK Clothing Cooperation Planned

PM0103142989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Single Edition [as published] p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Teletype"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 28 Feb—Light industry workers in the largest Soviet republic, the RSFSR, and in the DPRK will employ joint efforts to expand production of smart and comfortable clothing and footwear. Specific ways to resolve this task were outlined during the 21-28 February visit to the DPRK by an RSFSR government delegation headed by T.N. Levina, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and its talks with DPRK representatives headed by Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the DPRK Administration Council, and chairman of the Light Industry Committee.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippines' Aquino Anniversary Speech Viewed

LD2502162189 Mocow TASS in English 1653 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Manila February 25 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Sergey Almazov:

Church bells rang out across the Philippines on Saturday signalling the beginning of celebrations to mark the third anniversary of the Corazon Aquino presidency. From early morning Filipinos flocked to the historical place on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, the scene of the uprising against the administration of the President Ferdinand Marcos. On the avenue, where residents of the capital blocked the way to soldiers and tanks which were rushed by the authorities to put down the uprising, hundreds of white doves and multi-colored balloons floated into the sky.

In celebrating its anniversary, the Aquino government sums up the results of three years under the country's Constitution. Addressing a meeting of thousands of people, Aquino stressed that the Philipines has embarked on the path of economic recovery and political stability. Last year the country made an impressive headway in economic development. Its gross national product went up 6.7 percent and capital investments in many industries increased.

At the same time, general positive indicators of economic growth have not been reflected on real living conditions of the majority of the population, Jovito Salonga, president of the Senate, said the other day. Many Filipinos in rural areas and in cities continue living in poverty.

The Aquino government has lived through three military coup attempts in three years of its stay in office. Today too supporters of Marcos and servicemen who sympathise with them are out to destabilise the situation now and then. In response to this, the president calls upon the administration opponents to give up the use of force and launch a dialogue on cooperation. The same terms were proposed to the rebel groups which wage the armed struggle against the administration in various parts of the country.

Continued operation of American military bases in the Philippines, which under the agreement can remain here till 1991, is an important factor which determines to a considerable extent the political situation inside the country. Aquino has repeatedly stated that she leaves open for the present the question of the U.S. military bases' future. The majority of deputies of the Philippine Congress are in favour of phasing them out. They also demand that the provisions of the Constitution which binds the Philippines to pursue a nuclear weapons-free policy be scrupulously abided.

The Philippines' more vigorous foreign policy and the extension of its relations with other countries is a serious achievement by the government in the last three years. Considering as before the development of contacts with ASEAN countries a priority in its foreign policy, the Aquino administration also states about its readiness to open the way toward increased cooperation with socialist countries, including the Soviet Union.

Important steps in this direction have already been taken. The joint Soviet-Philippine statement signed in Manila during the official visit to the Philippines in December 1988 of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, says that the sides expressed mutual interest in boosting trade and economic relations. In the Philippines it was announced that President Aquino will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. Its date will be agreed upon later.

Aquino Sets 'Just Course' for Philippines

HK2702044589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Three years have elapsed since the Marcos regime was overthrown in the Philippines and the new government, headed by Corazon Aquino, assumed power. During that time, Filipinos have displayed their determination to fulfill their democratic aspirations. A group of military officials were the first to denounce Marcos.

However the ouster was accomplished by the people, who, with no thought for their safety, threw themselves in the path of Marcos' tanks and loyal soldiers. The people's fury at the Marcos regime was clearly displayed on February 1986, and in the hour of his need, even his former supporters in Washington distanced themselves from Marcos.

In 1981 former Vice President George Bush praised Marcos for upholding democratic principles and gave Marcos assurances of the United States' continued support. But all Marcos got in 1986 from the United States was his transfer from the Philippines to Hawaii by way of the American base at Subic Bay. [as heard; Marcos left from Clark Air Base]

The 3 years from 1986 have not been that easy for Corazon Aquino. Great strength and great effort are required to solve the complications resulting from the economic, political, and social problems the Aquino administration faces. The national economy needs to be rebuilt, the foreign debt must be resolved, and agrarian reform must move forward. Aggravating the situation is the fact that various factions of Philippine society have conflicting perceptions of the government's role. President Aquino is criticized by both the Left and the Right more than just occasionally. Thus far she has survived 5 attempts by the military to overthrow her government.

There are visible changes in the Philippines today. The country has a new constitution, and a new Congress has been elected. Visitors to Manila remark on the pace with which the capital city is undergoing improvements. The mushrooming of new buildings around the country is evident, as well as the rise in the standard of living.

The Aquino government is doing its utmost to solve its gravest problem—the country's foreign debt, which amounts to $29 billion. At present, the latest negotiations with the International Monetary Fund on the $1.3 billion debt are still underway. Much hope is being placed on a multinational plan for the Philippines' livelihood program. However a speedy decision on this rests with the United States, which plans to tie this aid package to Corazon Aquino's agreement to extend the military bases agreement.

The Philippine Constitution spells out the government's antinuclear stand. Philippine senators insisted on this last year when they approved this particular provision. However, in Washington's view, this antinuclear provision threatens the military cooperation between the U.S. and the Philippines, since bases like Subic Bay and Clark Field will be of little value to the Pentagon if antinuclear limitations are enforced.

The positive changes seen in the global situation today provide new opportunities for solving this and other problems in the Philippines. The Aquino government has benefited from improved East-West relations, which have succeeded in reducing tensions. It has also displayed its willingness to make a positive contribution to the normalization of relations among the Southeast Asian countries.

Among the positive steps taken by the administration of Corazon Aquino are improved relations with all countries, including the socialist ones. Today the Philippines is viewed as a responsible member of the world community, as one seriously interested in solving vital global problems.

Officials in President Aquino's government played a big role in the success of the Philippine People Power Revolution. During the 3 years in which she has led her country, she has set a just course. She is frequently asked if she does not find the burdens of the presidency too heavy. Her frank reply: While my country needs me, I leave everything to God.

The Soviet people admire President Corazon Aquino and hope for the success of all her endeavors on behalf of the Philippine people. We wish the Filipinos success in the solution of all their problems so that they may achieve national prosperity.

U.S. Dumping Toxic Wastes in Asia-Pacific Area

HK2802050989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Commentary by correspondent (Aleksander Leshkov)]

[Text] As reported by the French magazine (?LE POINT), 400 ships left the United States in 1987 carrying toxic waste for disposal outside that country's national boundaries. In the view of the experts, this clandestine dumping of such material is seven times higher than official levels. What has caused this sudden rise in such a practice? According to another French magazine, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, the dumping of one ton of rubbish in Europe is now estimated to cost $3,000. But payments to the underdeveloped countries range from just $30-$40 a ton. In other words, the ferrying of toxic waste to another part of the world is cheaper than having to process this material domestically.

In truth, this dirty business is done by dirty means. For example, a scandal surfaced in the United States in 1986 when the (?Colbert) Brothers were found to be dumping toxic waste on board ships falsely registered in India, South Korea, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. It was revealed that the main sources of this material were government agencies, including the Pentagon.

Thailand is another victim of this kind of practice. Recently 260 containers holding 1,000 tons of dangerous chemicals arrived at the Bangkok port of Klong Toi, addressed to an unknown consignee. When these containers get to a tropical climate, the hermetic seals become rusty and lose their effectiveness. So the Thai authorities devised a way to bury the poisonous cargo.

The industrialized capitalist countries often dump their waste in the sea, far from their own territory. One of these is the U.S. which, since 1946, has been using the South Pacific as a dumping ground for its radioactive garbage, banned by law from being dumped within American territory. According to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, some of the containers dumped into the ocean have disintegrated. This has caused a rise in radiation levels in the ocean. The Pentagon also plans to dump into the Pacific Ocean during the next 30 years some 100 obsolete nuclear submarines. Experts say these vessels pose a pollution threat to the environment as great as that posed by all the nuclear waste dumped by the U.S. in the Pacific so far.

Japan likewise is reportedly making plans to dump barrels containing radioactive waste in the Marianas region of the Pacific. In light of this, countries in Oceania have expressed fears that such dumping will threaten marine life. As stated in the recent warning issued by the president of Nauru, Hammer Deroburt, marine pollution will result in the poisoning of the populations of the Pacific region.

American military facilities in the region also have negative effects on the environment. On the orders of the commanders of the U.S. bases in the Philippines, American personnel have long been dumping chemical reactives, oil, and garbage into the ocean. The mayor of the town of Bagac in the Philippines has pointed out that this practice by the American military has been the cause of widespread destruction of fish.

Corporations of the industrialized countries' have plans to move their pollution-producing plants to the developing countries. Japan's Mitsubishi Chemical Industries has set up in Ipoh, Malaysia, 200 kilometers from Kuala Lumpur, a plant which has been called an atomic time bomb. It was ordered shut down by local authorities in 1985 for illegally dumping radioactive waste. But production was resumed after 14 months and radioactive pollution is again threatening the surrounding areas. In 1988 Mitsubishi's profits from this plant rose to $3 million.

The Bataan nuclear power plant in the Philippines set up by the American company Westinghouse poses another danger to the populace. The Philippine Government has banned the operation of the plant after inspectors found [words indistinct] defects. A commission of experts declared the nuclear power plant unsafe, and one that would not be allowed to operate if it were in the United States.

These activities by foreign companies have produced protests from many local populations. For example, a contract was recently signed for the building of a garbage-disposal plant in Iligan City on Mindanao. The American company LRT Development Corporation agreed to pay $100,000 monthly for the processing of the garbage. However the townspeople protested, and the contract was not signed. Such public protests will continue if pollution-producing practices in the Southeast Asian region continue at their present levels.

Laos Acting President Discusses Cambodia

PM2702161389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Laos Acting President Phoumi Vongvichit by TASS correspondent B. Shumeyev: "Hoping for Success"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Vientiane, 24 Feb—Presented below are the answers given by Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the LPRP Central Committee Politburo and acting president of Laos, to questions from TASS correspondent B. Shumeyev:

Question: In his UN address, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, assessed the state of and trends in the modern world. What is your opinion on the potential for cooperation among the Southeast Asian countries in the consolidation of peace?

Answer: I wholeheartedly welcome M.S. Gorbachev's historic speech at the 43d UN General Assembly Session. It put forward bold and reliable proposals on peace, security, disarmament, and international cooperation.

The USSR's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men and also withdraw part of its troops from East European countries and Mongolia attests to its sincere desire to eliminate the threat of military confrontation and bring the era of peaceful coexistence among the peoples closer.

I have no doubt that this decision will have a positive effect on the success of the force and arms reduction talks between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO and will help ease tension in the world and in Southeast Asia in particular.

The first and second informal meetings in Jakarta; the successful talks in Thailand between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and [Thai] Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan; the latter's visit to Laos and his meeting with Kaysone Phomvihan; the signing of the Lao-Thai joint statement which confirms the two peoples' aspiration to live in peace and good-neighborliness; the wish to build a bridge across the Mekong River; the participation by Kaysone Phomvihan and Chatchai Chunhawan in the traditional "Tkhat Pkhan" [name as transliterated] festival on 17 February in Thailand; the creation of friendship societies; and the opening of a new checkpoint on the Lao-Thai border are all good signs of detente and demonstrate the possibility of cooperation among the Southeast Asian countries.

Vietnam—this is a very important point—is withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea under an accord with the PRK Government. The Cambodia question must be resolved by the Cambodians themselves without outside interference and in such a way as to prevent Pol Pot's supporters from returning to power, and to prevent outside help for the Khmer Rouge in their subversive actions inside Cambodia.

Question: How do you view the possibility of settling the Cambodia problem in the context of the second informal meeting in Jakarta?

Answer: I believe that the SRV and PRK governments are sincerely trying to resolve this question. Let us hope for success. The world is experiencing detente and the supporters of war are isolated. I visited the PRK recently where I took part in the work of a congress of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense.

The PRK Government is strengthening national defense. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army is capable of defending the country even without the Vietnamese troops. The situation around Cambodia is changing. Thailand has extended the hand of cooperation to Hun Sen. The Thai foreign minister has visited Hanoi. Lao-Chinese relations are being normalized, and relations between China and Vietnam are improving day-by-day.

Khmer Rouge prospects are very gloomy in the event that help from China and Thailand is ended. The policy of national reconciliation is the only chance for the reactionary groupings. The three opposition Khmer groupings are forced to take part in the informal meeting. They have no grounds for blaming Vietnam because it has withdrawn almost all its troops from the PRK. The Khmer Rouge hopes of seizing power in Cambodia by armed means are bankrupt. The PRK Government has sufficient armed forces, including local troops and self-defense forces, to prevent that. If China keeps its word—and there is reason to believe that it will—the Khmer Rouge will not last long. The attitude toward them for their crimes is unambiguous. I have talked with many Cambodians. They all expressed hatred for Pol Pot's men and criticized Sihanouk for his passive attitude toward the Pol Pot regime.

If you recall recent history you will see that it was Vietnam, Laos, and the patriotic forces of Cambodia who twice came to Sihanouk's aid, although he has clearly forgotten that. In 1970 Lon Nol carried out a coup d'etat in Sihanouk's absence. It was Vietnam, Laos, and the Cambodian patriots who then asked China to accept and feed Sihanouk. Zhou Enlai promised to help Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia liberate the country so Sihanouk could return home. After that, Sihanouk arrived in Hanoi and at a reception toasted "elder brother" Pham Van Dong and "number two brother" Souphanouvong and vowed never to betray them. After the victory over Lon Nol, Sihanouk returned to the country. Pol Pot's seizure of power remains a mystery to me. The Pol Pot army's commanders (including Heng Samrin, Hun Sen, and Chea Soth) did not agree with the anti-Vietnamese policy or Pol Pot's barbarous actions and turned for help to Vietnam. Cambodia was liberated a second time and Sihanouk was also freed. But instead of voicing his gratitude he accused Vietnam of aggression.

Question: Now, when a solution to the Cambodia problem is in the offing, many people are trying to assess the possible development of events in Southeast Asia. How do you see the situation in the "post-Cambodia" period?

Answer: I am sure that relations between the ASEAN countries and Indochina will improve. ASEAN is becoming increasingly aware that Vietnam presents no danger. Singapore and Thailand used to be active opponents of the Indochinese countries. Bangkok has realized that this path leads nowhere. C. Chunhawan has declared a desire to transform Indochina "from a battlefield into a trade zone." But we are not forgetting our vigilance here. While proclaiming an open-door policy, we are also mindful of the need for the close coordination of actions with the peace-loving peoples.

Australia's Hawke Welcomes USSR-PRC Dialogue

LD2402130689 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Canberra February 24 TASS—"First of all we shouldn't be afraid", Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke said of Soviet-Chinese dialogue and of the forthcoming summit meeting in a TV interview broadcast on Thursday. The fact that the two countries will be friends meets their interests and, what is very important, the interests of the whole region. If these two gigantic powers want to improve their economies, and we are also interested in it, and realize the need to enlarge cooperation with regional countries, this is encouraging because we possess technology, experience and money to help them in their development plans, Hawke said.

The prime minister welcomed rapprochement between the Soviet Union and China leading to detente. The decision to facilitate a Kampuchean settlement illustrates this process. The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will not only confirm the relaxation of tensions between the two countries but also form a basis for relaxation in the whole region. I think that the forthcoming meeting will create excellent possibilities for economic cooperation between the two countries and between all countries of the region, the prime minister said.

Envoy to Australia Now Also Envoy to Nauru

PM2802145789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Robidok Buraro Detudamo, president of the Republic of Nauru, has accepted the credentials of Ye.M. Samoteykin, USSR ambassador to Australia, who has also been appointed ambassador to this island state.

Vietnam To Set Up Cultural Center in USSR
LD2702163389 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—An agreement was signed in Moscow on Monday between the governments of the Soviet Union and Vietnam on the setting up of a Vietnamese centre of culture and information in the Soviet Union.

The centre is to promote cooperation between the two fraternal countries.

The agreement was signed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin and Vietnam's Ambassador to the USSR Nguyen Manh Kam.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Views Achievements of Mideast Tour
PM0203095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze by unnamed PRAVDA correspondent: "Solving Regional Conflicts. E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Foreign Minister, Replies to PRAVDA Correspondent's Questions"—date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Question: You are just back from a long tour of a number of Near and Middle East countries. What circumstances dictated the need for the trip? How would you explain the intensity, breadth, and unprecedented nature of your contacts in the countries of the region?

Answer: Very briefly, as follows: The Near East, like the Middle East, is close to the Soviet Union. Close geographically, being on the perimeter of our country's southern borders. Close historically in respect of our long-standing ties and active participation in the destiny of many of the region's states. Close politically inasmuch as we are not indifferent to the processes taking place in the region. I could cite many other aspects of this closeness such as, for instance, our contribution to the economic development of certain Arab countries, or our moral and spiritual support for peoples striving to gain a homeland: In the past the Israelis, and now the Palestinians.

But, apart from this, there is a wider international, if not global, context. To put it very concisely once again: It is a worldwide trend—a move away from confrontation and toward dialogue, away from the arms race toward disarmament, away from confrontation toward cooperation. The Near East is not part of this trend. The region is number three in the world—after NATO and the Warsaw Pact—in terms of direct military spending, and number one in terms of arms exports. But all this, by itself very distressing and tragic in its consequences, bears no comparison to the danger that the Near East could pose for our country, Europe, and U.S. interests. In other words, for the entire world.

In what way? If the temptation to have nuclear and chemical weapons and missile technology were to take practical shape—and such a forecast is entirely realistic—the Near East would be a danger to an entire world that is restructuring itself for a new life.

That is why the idea of an international conference on the Near East is taking hold ever more strongly and why the Soviet Union believes that such a conference could and should be brought about through the efforts of the world community.

This was the number one task of our visit to the region—to exchange opinions with all sides involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict and prepare the conditions for convening an international conference. In a short period of time we met and held vigorous, in-depth exchanges of opinion with all parties to the conflict—from Israel to the PLO.

I will discuss the results of these talks later. For the moment, I consider it my duty to note that important questions concerning our relations with the countries of the region were successfully resolved in the course of the trip.

These include the complete normalization of relations with Egypt. A turnaround [povorot] and changes in the climate and nature of ties with neighboring Iran. The deepening of contacts with countries with which we have a tradition of cooperation—Syria and Iraq. A first visit to Jordan. New moves in the dialogue with Israel—a country with which we have no diplomatic relations but with which we must talk for the sake of peace and security in the Near East. Finally, our support for the position of the PLO leaders, who have taken outstanding and original steps for the sake of the same lofty aim.

The practice of the exchange of personal messages between M.S. Gorbachev and world leaders acquired new quality during this Near East mission for Soviet foreign policy. The main ideological and philosophical thrust of the messages was an appeal to solve the Near East problem exclusively by political means, and an emphasis on pooling efforts in switching the region from confrontation to dialogue based on the principles of freedom of choice, the supremacy of common human values, and the primacy of international law—all this means striving to extend the sphere of new political thinking to the Near and Middle East.

I have not yet mentioned the fact that during the trip other, by no means secondary, tasks were resolved. For instance, promoting direct dialogue between forces that operate in the Near East but are still estranged [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0241 GMT on 2 March carries a similar report which renders the preceding phrase as follows: "...assisting the direct diallgue of the forces in the Near East which are, however, acting separately for the moment..."]; promoting the success of the talks process covering the problems of the Iran-Iraq conflict; active efforts to prevent bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Our 10 days in the Near East produced entirely concrete results in the shape of accords on, for instance, the creation of a Soviet-Syrian panel of experts to discuss the issues involved in a Near East settlement, or on the Soviet-Palestinian working committee to coordinate actions in this direction.

And this was the case in every country—be it Iraq, where we reached agreement on expert consultations on security issues in the Persian Gulf, or Syria, where we reached mutual understanding on holding a meeting of representatives from the Arab countries participating in a Near East settlement.

This is not a full list. But, in my view, it is a sufficiently clear explanation as to why we went to the region.

Question: Let us, however, turn back to the Arab-Israeli conflict. What is it that gives you grounds for optimism on this issue?

Answer: The Near East situation has undergone noticeable change recently. Real prerequisites have emerged for the beginnings of a settlement to what is perhaps the oldest and most tangled regional conflict.

Credit for this is mainly due to the peaceful Palestinian uprising and the PLO leadership's realistic and constructive policy. Having accepted UN Security Council Resolution 242, having confirmed its readiness for dialogue with Israel, and having condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, the PLO has proved itself an authoritative and serious partner for peace talks. Neither Israel nor anyone else at all could now have even the slightest pretext for rejecting participation by this organization, which represents the Palestinian people, in the preparation for and work of the international conference on the Near East.

As I have already said, the broadest possible consensus has emerged in the world regarding the need to convene this forum. It is firmly advocated by all Arab countries involved in the conflict. Active work is being done by West Europe, which perceives a direct link between its own security and the current situation in the Near East. The idea of the conference is shared by all permanent members of the Security Council—the USSR, Britain, France, China, and the United States.

We are firmly convinced that the task of practical preparation for the international conference is now in the forefront. This means:

Bringing the Security Council mechanism into action and, specifically, examining this question at a special council session at the foreign minister level;

Activating consultations between the council's five permanent members which, acting in contact with the UN secretary general and with the parties directly involved in the conflict, would take on the function of the conference's preparatory organ;

Giving scope for the UN peacemaking potential and for ensuring other mutually acceptable and flexible forms of constructive collaboration between the sides involved in the settlement. What we have in mind is asking J. Perez de Cuellar to appoint an authoritative personality, acceptable to all parties, as his special Near East envoy.

In order to accelerate the convening of the conference, the Soviet Union is proposing the introduction of a "time limit" on the preparatory stage.

Question: It is well known that, during the second stage of the trip, your attention focused on another conflict, the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Could you speak in detail about this aspect of the talks?

Answer: This problem was essentially present in all the conversations, in all five capitals. But it was only natural that it came to the forefront in Baghdad and Teheran.

The situation remains complex. A cruel and bloody war raged for 8 years, and a multiplicity of problems have accumulated. So far there is a cease-fire in operation, but there has been no settlement. Talks are being held on this issue through mediation by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar.

I would like to mention the UN role in this context. The war was halted largely thanks to efforts by the UN Security Council, which adopted its well-known Resolution 598. This resolution could not be implemented for a long time, while attitudes in favor of adopting a second resolution were evident in the Security Council.

We advocated making maximum use, without any haste, of the first resolution's potential. In these complex conditions, the Security Council maintained agreement between all its members, whose role was extremely active.

I personally am convinced that it would have been difficult to bring the parties to the conflict to the negotiating table without all this.

We did not take on an arbiter's role in Baghdad and Tehran. We perceived our mission as being to help Iraq and Iran surmount the wall of alienation and give each other the benefit of the trust which is so necessary.

We strove to objectively present to these countries' leaders our perception of the situation, to assess conditions without prejudice, and to contribute to the start of a serious and constructive dialogue.

We were heard with attention and benevolence, and received thanks for the views we expressed.

I think that the very fact of our conversation with both sides right on the spot assumes a certain importance for the development of Iranian-Iraqi dialogue and for the quest for a political settlement.

I spoke earlier about the specific accords reached during the visit. Let me add that in Baghdad we agreed to create a joint group comprising leading economic experts and specialists who would get down to an in-depth elaboration of questions of enhancing the effectiveness of our ties.

In Tehran we signed a protocol that provides for regular consultations between our countries' foreign ministers and a cultural cooperation program. We laid down the outlines of large-scale, mutually advantageous relations.

A highly meaningful conversation was also held in Iran on the situation in Afghanistan. An important result: Both sides confirmed their intention to act in favor of ending the bloodshed and establishing peace in that neighboring country. We agreed that the exchange of opinions on Afghanistan would continue.

It is only natural that many other issues have not been covered in this interview. Nevertheless, I hope that, on the whole, it has "covered" the entire Near East visit and given a correct impression of Soviet diplomacy's actions along this important avenue of Soviet foreign policy.

Egypt's Mubarak Views Mideast Conference, USSR Role

PM0103143389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch: "Mubarak: Conference Possible This Year"]

[Text] Cairo—Egyptian President H. Mubarak has made a statement in which he expressed the hope that a comprehensive peace conference to resolve the Near East conflict can take place this year. The president warned of the danger of maintaining the existing status quo in the region.

H. Mubarak rated highly the results of the recent visit to Egypt by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, and particularly the results of his meetings with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, and M. Arens, the Israeli foreign minister. The ideas and opinions expressed during these meetings were very positive, the Egyptian president stated.

Analyzing the package of proposals made by the different sides concerning ways to settle the Near East conflict, H. Mubarak said that, despite the fact that the United States adheres to a negative stance on the Soviet proposal to hold a comprehensive peace conference, aligning itself here with the Israeli viewpoint, the U.S. public increasingly decisively favors the holding of such a forum.

YAR Leader Welcomes Shevardnadze Mideast Tour

PM0103143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent V. Belyakov dispatch: "Hope for Peace"]

[Text] Sanaa, 27 Feb—The Yemen Arab Republic rates highly the Soviet Union's efforts to improve the international situation, A.K. al-'Iryani, YAR deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said in a conversation with your correspondent.

We welcome Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev's UN address in which he called for the strengthening of peace and the deepening of the nuclear disarmament process, my interlocutor continued. We Yemenis particularly appreciate the conclusion on the interconnection between disarmament and development, and the proposals on settling the developing states' foreign debt problems. On the prospects for settling regional conflicts, the YAR Foreign Minister noted that the majority of these conflicts are linked in one way or another to the situation in the world as a whole. The improvement in the international climate has also favorably affected the situation in certain regions. In this connection, A.K. al-'Iryani dwelt in detail on the Near East situation. He called the USSR Foreign Minister's tour of this region's countries historic. The Soviet approach to the settlement of the Near East conflict is based on the recent experience of settlements in other regions. I believe that this approach can overcome the "inflexibility" of the Israeli position. Thus, I consider that the Soviet foreign minister's trip has started a "wheel of peace" in the Near East that cannot be stopped.

Shevardnadze Iran Visit Signals Improved Ties

LD0103230589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1614 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Albert Balebanov commentary]

[Text] Moscow, 1 March—TASS political observer Albert Balebanov writes:

The visit by Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, to Iran, which took place in the framework of his tour of the Near and Middle East, has shown the enhanced dynamism and flexibility of Soviet diplomacy.

Judging by what an extraordinary reception was given to the head of the Soviet foreign policy department while he was in Tehran, in particular his meeting with the Imam R.M. Khomeyni, the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and also by how vigorously the Iranian side stated its interest in strengthening relations with our country, it can be said that bilateral Soviet-Iranian links today are emerging to a new and higher level. The new quality in relations between the USSR and Iran can also be seen by the exchange of messages between the supreme leaders of the two countries.

Whichever of the Iranian leadership Eduard Shevardnadze met, it was constantly said that Tehran fully shares the Soviet aspiration to build bilateral relations on the principles of good-neighborliness and equitable cooperation. A confirmation of that reciprocal aspiration was the great attention paid to questions of deepening economic cooperation and carrying out specific joint projects.

Adding to the efforts of our country both in developing bilateral relations and in seeking mutually acceptable solutions to the Iran-Iraq conflict, the visit by the Soviet minister confirmed the newness of Soviet approaches to solving complex problems, and also the peacemaking role the Soviet Union is playing in international affairs. In this connection, the fact that the USSR minister of foreign affairs devoted a considerable part of his talks in Tehran to the question of Iran-Iraq relations drew atention to itself. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the readiness of our country in all ways to facilitate the successful progress of the negotiations process between Iran and Iraq under the aegis of the UN general secretary.

Noteworthy is also one more aspect of the Soviet minister's visit to Tehran. At the talks with Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Minister of Foreign Affairs A.A. Velayati he raised the question of the situation that has arisen in connection with the publication in the West of Salman Rushdie's book "The Satanic Verses". This is causing the Soviet leadership concern, for unless a sensible solution is found, the consequences may be unpredictable. The Soviet side has formed the impression that the Iranian authorities are sincerely interested in the promptest setlement of a conflict with the West and consider that the USSR might play a positive role in this.

In the very near future now the Soviet side will have opportunities to discuss this problem with representatives of Western countries. At the beginning of March, F. Fernandez-Ordonez, the present chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers and Spanish foreign minister, is coming to Moscow, and later the leader of the Soviet diplomatic department will have a meeting in Vienna with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker. The speediest solution of this problem would meet the interests of all the sides and accord with the improvement of the situation in the region.

Iran 'Interested' in Resolving Rushdie Conflict

LD0103151389 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Vadim Biryukov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov:

Britain and Iran are on the verge of breaking diplomatic relations. Muslim groups in countries where Salman Rushdie's book "The Satanic Verses" has been brought out are threatening its publishers. One California store selling the book has even been bombed. Anti-Iranian measures are being actively discussed in many Western capitals.

The mounting hostility between the Muslim world and those defending Rushdie is becoming a serious political factor which, if not halted, can adversely affect both Iran and the Western countries involved in the conflict.

The threat of this problem complicating the settlement of some regional conflicts is becoming very real indeed and the atmosphere of mutual understanding which has lately been shaping in the world might be damaged.

Hardly anyone can be interested in this turn of events.

Any acts of violence or calls for it, obviously, arouse indignation. At the same time one cannot fail to notice that the world press has been presenting the conflict in black and white terms, as Iran having thrown down a gauntlet to the West.

But perhaps Imam Khomeyni, the supreme religious authority in Iran, had no choice proceeding from Koran teachings, other than denouncing a man who has insulted Islam?

The denunciation was nothing more, by the way, than the position of a religious leader. The Iranian Government has not condemned Rushdie to death.

As to the monetary reward offered to those who will punish Rushdie, Imam Khomeyni, as far as is known, has not said anything on this score.

A sum in dollars was mentioned by a religious group calling itself the Islamic Martyr Foundation. The figure then began to grow in articles by reporters who automatically added up one reward after another, citing statements by other Muslim groups.

Finally, the Iranians' claim that they warned London in advance that the planned publications of the book hurting Muslims' feelings would cause outrage in the Islamic world and inevitably provoke the sharpest reaction.

Experts should analyze all this.

On the eve of the Soviet Foreign Minister's visit to Iran his British opposite number Geoffrey Howe asked him to help localize the conflict.

Eduard Shevardnadze is known to have had two lengthy meetings, lasting for more than two hours, with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (parliament).

The Soviet side's impression is that the Iranian Government is honestly interested in resolving the situation and believes that the Soviet Union could play a positive role in this.

The USSR is really seeking dialogue and trust rather than confrontation.

Some say that one factor that has helped the difficult Soviet-American rapprochement has been the mutual decision to pay attention to common elements rather than differences in the sides' positions.

A similar approach could perhaps help in this case as well.

But now not just two, but a whole number of countries in different regions should follow this wise principle. And then, one should hope, a possibility will present itself for preventing the unfavourable development of this complicated international affair with unpredictable implications.

It is much easier to take the path of confrontation than to keep one's cool and not yield to emotions.

RSFSR Foreign Minister Views Mideast Policies

PM0103145189 London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 27 Feb 89 pp 18-20

[Interview with RSFSR Foreign Minister Vladimir Vinogradov by Hamidah Na'na in Cairo; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Na'na] After President Husni Mubarak assumed power, relations began to improve gradually. Have relations reached the level that the Soviet Union seeks?

[Vinogradov] You know that what happened after President 'Abd al-Nasir's death was an internal matter that concerned Egypt alone. The president was Egypt's president. So what happened in his era concerned Egypt and the Egyptian people alone. Under the present president, Egyptian-Soviet relations have developed more and the Soviet Union has exploited the open doors. We have normalized relations: Ambassadors have been exchanged and trade and cultural relations resumed. The important thing is that dialogue between the two countries has resumed. We have cordial, or we can actually say good, relations now. There are no disagreements between us other than over one question: The ideal ways of exploiting the capabilities available to develop relations in the two countries' interests. [passage omitted]

[Na'na] Do you believe that the obstacle to a solution to the Middle East problem is the absence of a unified Arab stand?

[Vinogradov] To a large extent I can say yes. This is so because Israel and the United States benefit from the Arab states' disagreements. Let us recall the endless list of disputes, beginning with the Palestinian-Jordanian dispute and ending with Syrian-Iraqi relations. And do not let us forget Egypt's withdrawal from the Arab struggle after the Camp David accords, that is, from the 1970's. Let me remind you, as I can see you are eager to hear the answer, of the massacres of Palestinians in Lebanon. Demonstrations were staged in Israel condemning those massacres, but who took to the streets of Arab cities? I am not trying to praise Israel, but, as an observer, I am entitled to diagnose a case. The conscience of Israeli progressives could not bear what happened in Lebanon, but, regrettably, the Arab capitals remained silent at the popular level.

[Na'na] What is the nature of your relations with Israel at present? It is known that secret official meetings were held between you and Israeli officials, and then a consular mission was sent to Tel Aviv. How can we assess your relations today?

[Vinogradov] Our relations with Israel are known and open. There are no diplomatic relations between us. The Israelis want to restore the diplomatic relations we severed after the 1967 war. Our response to them has never changed: Our relations were severed as a result of the Middle East crisis, and to date no change has occurred in the Israeli position on that crisis. When such a change takes place we will be able to resume talks on the restoration of relations. The reason for severing relations still stands, namely, aggression against the Arab states and the occupation of their territories by force. True, we did send a temporary consular mission to Israel, because we have many Soviet citizens living there.

[Na'na] Are they Israeli citizens as well?

[Vinogradov] That does not concern me. We do not recognize dual nationality. Anyhow, some Soviet citizens left the Soviet Union carrying Soviet nationality and they are still Soviet nationals. In addition to this, we have a considerable number of properties in Israel. Some are state-owned and some are owned by the church. The Israelis asked us if they could open a consulate in Moscow and we agreed. The presence of an Israeli consulate in Moscow is useful. That was proved when the Soviet aircraft was hijacked and brought by the hijackers to Tel Aviv in the belief that Israel would accept them. But the Israelis knew that the situation would be both difficult and critical if they accepted the hijackers and the aircraft. So they returned the aircraft to us. The presence of the consulate in Moscow helped a great deal in resolving the problem.

[Na'na] Mr Minister, there is an issue which the Arabs, including myself, still cannot understand, that is, the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. While the Soviet Union continues to exert its efforts to resolve the Middle East problem, it continues to allow Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel—something that complicates the Middle East problem further, not to mention the hostile feelings that emigration provokes toward the Soviet Union. Let's speak frankly: Do you allow Jewish emigration to appease the West, or does this fall within certain calculations in your relations with the states of the region.?

[Vinogradov] The emigration of Soviet Jews has nothing to do with our policy in the Middle East, nor does it fall within the calculations you have in your mind. It is part of a general policy aimed at making relations inside the Soviet Union more humane. The Egyptian Government, for instance, allows any Egyptian seeking to emigrate to another country to leave. So do the French and British governments. [passage omitted]

[Na'na] Since Mikhail Gorbachev announced the restructuring policy, the world has witnessed a phase of detente that has resulted in finding solutions to some regional problems. Do you believe that international detente inspires optimism about an imminent solution to the Middle East in the 1989?

[Vinogradov] As far as we are concerned, resolving the Middle East problem is a must. But will that take place in 1989? I do not know. What makes me say this is the behavior of the Israeli rulers and the U.S. Administration. With regard to the Israeli rulers' behavior, I wonder: Do they realize that they are tampering with posterity? Do they realize the danger of what they are doing? Is the U.S. Administration serious in its attitudes to the Middle East problem? Does it really exert pressure on the Israeli administration? The Zionist lobby in the United States is very strong. But matters are now proceeding in the right direction.

[Na'na] During your meetings with Israeli officials, did you sense any progress in their position? And do you think of changing your policy toward Israel?

[Vinogradov] So far we have not seen any tangible change in the position. Our foreign minister met more than once with Israel's foreign minister, but for our part, we do not feel that there is a need to change our policy. [passage omitted]

[Na'na] Some observers have noted that the Soviet Union has not adopted a clear, principled stand toward Iran. The Khomeyni regime has opposed the progressive forces and the communist party (Tudeh). It has slaughtered Tudeh members. Despite all that, there has always been a desire to improve relations with Iran. Do you fear the spread of the "Islamic revolution" to the Soviet republics adjacent to Iran?

[Vinogradov] Absolutely not. We do not, even for one moment, fear anything of that sort. What has happened in Iran is an internal Iranian affair and we have no right to interfere in it. The Soviet Union had good relations with Iran during the shah's era. We tried to maintain cordial relations after the shah's departure, but they did not want to. That certainly did not please us. The existence of an extremist religious regime is purely an Iranian affair. It is their own problem. We can now see relations between us improving gradually. [passage omitted]

Kabul Defense, Resupplying of Rebels Described

PM0103161789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by D. Meshchaninov in Moscow and Yu. Tyssovskiy in Kabul under the rubric: "Panorama of International Events": "A Friend's Disinterested Help"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The editorial office contacted the TASS correspondent in Kabul and asked him to talk about the situation in the Afghan capital and other vitally important centers in the country. Here is his report:

"On the surface Kabul is calm. The inhabitants are concerned with everyday affairs. Soldiers in gray uniforms and people in national dress armed with machineguns patrol the streets. 'Today there are no students, officials or workers; today they are all soldiers,' Muhammad Shah, a future engineer from the Kabul Polytechnical Institute, said to me, inspecting a taxi with his comrades on Pushtunistan Square.

"At Kabul enterprises volunteer detachments are being created to protect the airport and the other most important facilities in the Afghan capital. Painstaking work by the security organs is under way to uncover the 'fifth column' sent to the city by the opposition to organize diversions and unrest. Virtually every day there are reports about arrests of fighters from among the 'irreconcilables' and discoveries of weapons and explosives caches. In the last 4 days only one rocket has hit the capital, and this can be attributed to well-coordinated actions in the Kabul security restrictions zone by the Afghan Army, which is successfully preventing extremist attempts to hit the city with rocket projectiles.

"As ever, the Pakistani border with Afghanistan remains the 'gateway' for the 'irreconcilables,' who are being helped by the Pakistani authorities. Weapons and combat supplies are constantly being sent across it to the opposition armed formations, in violation of the Geneva agreements. Thus a 'caravan of death' has arrived in Khowst district for the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan,' and a large formation with heavy arms has also crossed the border to strengthen the antigovernment 'fronts' operating there."

Afghan Refugees in Pakistan Protest War

LD0203014389 Moscow TASS in English 2345 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 2 TASS—Afghan refugees staged a demonstration which ended with a mass rally in the Khattak Camp near Peshawar, Pakistan.

The demonstrators demanded that Afghan opposition leaders withdraw the call for "jihad", or holy war, from the agenda, and urged fellow Afghans to return to their homeland.

According to reports reaching here, the demonstration and the rally were caused by attempts of armed groups from the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" to recruit by force young Afghans from the camp.

The BAKHTAR News Agency said the opposition is resorting to such practices on a growing scale as more and more people, who oppose "jihad" in present-day conditions, leave the armed groups.

East Europe

Polish Anti-Soviet Demonstration Condemned

LD0103215989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1954 GMT 1 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Excerpt] Many of you, comrades, have probably heard reports about how a group of members of the illegal, or rather independent, yes, independent, student union of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow organized street disorders in that city last week without concealing their task: to evoke hostility in Polish citizens toward the USSR. The rogues, who really let themselves go, desecrated the monument of gratitude erected by the Polish public to the Soviet troops who liberated Poland, including Krakow, saving it from destruction. You can read news connected with these events in the papers, but I recalled this for the following reason. The escapades of the hooligans in no way reflect the mood of the majority of Poles. It is no fluke that the country's public and the government sharply condemned the provocation. [passage omitted]

Polish Foreign Minister Views Soviet Ties

PM2702100789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Cooperation Without Barriers"]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Feb—Particularly favorable prospects for development have been opened up in Polish-Soviet relations. Poland will strive to realize in full the accords reached during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Poland, to develop the concept of long-term economic cooperation, and to remove legal, financial, and other barriers. Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski pointed this out when delivering the government's report on the directions and tasks of Polish foreign policy in 1989 at today's session of the Polish Sejm.

The guarantee of Poland's security is, above all, its membership in the Warsaw Pact, where the member states have taken the principle of defense sufficiency as the basic criterion of their military efforts. Poland's will is confirmed by its unilateral decisions to reduce the Armed Forces and alter their structure.

The raising of the level of political contacts with the West must be accompanied by a normalization of financial and credit relations and by better conditions for scientific and technical cooperation. In European politics Poland concentrates attention on the all-around strengthening of the process begun by the CSCE as the foundation of the "common European home."

Poland seeks to ensure that this year brings livelier dynamics of disarmament under conditions of a comprehensive approach to problems of security. The concept of a universal system of peace and international security, in whose realization Poland intends to take an active part, serves this well, the Polish foreign minister emphasized.

After concluding the foreign policy debate, the Sejm deputies adopted a resolution emphasizing that restructuring in the USSR is a positive factor for changes. The program of the profound restructuring of international relations which M.S. Gorbachev submitted to the UN General Assembly session places important new tasks before all states and before the entire international public.

The Sejm attaches special significance to developing all-around relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, strengthening the Warsaw Pact—its political functions, above all—and also restructuring CEMA and its economic mechanisms.

The Sejm expressed the profound conviction that the process of internal reforms within Poland and the desire for national concord, which is inseparably linked with this, give Polish foreign policy valuable advantages, enabling it to step up its assertiveness and, at the same time, more successfully create positive external conditions for internal restructuring.

Polish Roundtable Alternative to 'Extremism'

PM0103153589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Pandora's Box. The Warsaw 'Roundtable' and Its Participants"]

[Text] Warsaw—The Warsaw "roundtable" has been underway for 20 days. As is well known, it has gathered together people of the most varied political sympathies and leanings in a kind of pluralistic Noah's ark. And it can only sail in one direction—toward the shore called "agreement."

L. Walesa's press spokesman, who used quite a different image to describe the diversity of the "roundtable's" problems and opinions, answered in the affirmative to a question about whether the "roundtable" would be able to reach specific agreements in the near future, although he immediately added the proviso that the talks are overshadowed by past years, when people were divided by prejudice, distrust, and stereotypes: These, as the spokesman put it, have now been let out of a "Pandora's box."

At the working group on problems of the national economy and social policy, its cochairman Professor W. Baka put forward a draft document that could form the basis for a future social compact. The draft contains five points. These concern measures to promote better market supplies, commodity-money equilibrium, protection of working people from the negative effects of inflation, clearer definition of the ownership structure, and resolution of the foreign debt problem.

Professor W. Trzeciakowski, group cochairman representing the opposition, assessed the draft as being of fundamental importance and covering all the main problems worrying the opposition side. He was positive about the progress of the group's sessions and expressed readiness to participate more extensively in resolving the key issues of national economic development. "Our position," he said, "is the following: We're responsible to the extent that we participate... If we sign the social compact it will mean that we will have to monitor it and be responsible for its implementation." The professor sees the political solution to the problem as being to set up a second chamber of the Sejm that would represent all significant forces in society. There is still a long way to go before the creation of a second chamber, however; therefore, he continued, it is necessary to set up a consultative economic commission.

W. Baka is of the view that consensus depends purely on the political will of those participating in the "roundtable." If this will fails to materialize, arguments will go on forever, and this will cost everyone dearly. It should be clearly recognized, he said, that progress on problem-solving in other groups depends on progress in our group's work.

The "roundtable" is continuing to work in an atmosphere which the most radical opposition elements are trying to inflame in every possible way. The outlines can be discerned, so to speak, of a second "Pandora's box," from which will issue calls such as "consign communism to the scrapheap of history" and "Soviets go home."

Last week Krakow was the center of street riots. Aggressive crowds of youngsters, showing their political colors with banners stating "Independent Polish Confederation," "Struggling Solidarity," or just "Solidarity" hurled rocks at police and threw paint at banks. Dozens of policemen were injured. The hooligans dishonored a monument to the Soviet liberators of Krakow, staging a costume face aimed at mocking the Soviet Union and its army.

In the editorial article "Extremism in the Way," TRYBUNA LUDU resolutely rebuffs the attempts to hamper the process of national consensus and the improvement of the economy and domestic political relations. "Gdansk, Poznan, Krakow, and certain other cities," the newspaper writes, "are seeing increased activity by extremist groups that think they can alter the course of events."

The struggle to deepen democracy is now focused on the "roundtable," not only the coalition of left-wing forces but the constructive opposition have condemned the adventurism and irresponsibility of the illegal groupings and those behind the riots and strikes. There are people who are deliberately and maliciously hampering economic and political reforms and trying to provoke the West to suspend cooperation with Poland. This was even admitted by Professor A. Stelmachowski, a "Solidarity" adviser and "roundtable" participant, who said in an interview with "Radio Free Europe" that extremist ranks were being mobilized to wreck the "roundtable."

"What is currently happening is very harmful to the people and to Poland," M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, stated the other day. That is a serious warning. It should undoubtedly encourage the "roundtable" to increase the tempo of its work.

Poland's Urban on 'Blank Spots' in Soviet Ties

LD0103144289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program; interview with Jerzy Urban, Polish Government press spokesman, by moderator Valeriy Korzin; date, place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Korzin] How is the liquidation of blank spots in Soviet-Polish relations going? This was, you know, mentioned in the declaration on ideological cooperation. Could you say whether this process is getting started?

[Urban, in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] From our point of view, rather slowly. Scientists are used to working without haste and relying on serious long-term research. Public emotion on these questions is not going at the same pace. The work of scientists and certain unexplained questions remain open. We are reproached because we, as leaders, exert too little influence on the commission of historians in order to make it come to certain conclusions. There are also sensitive questions, such as Katyn, for instance. The Polish public expects the facts and the bringing of the question to some conclusion. But I want to say that, regardless of public emotions, my opinion is this: It is extraordinarily important to orientate Poland toward the future and not to the past. We, probably like you too, have an increased tendency to look back or discuss the present through the prism of history. But now, in my opinion, it is especially important to look to the future.

SFRY's Mikulic Receives Katushev in Belgrade

LD0103031189 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade February 28 (TASS)—Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council, received on Tuesday [28 February] Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, staying in Belgrade on a visit.

During the meeting the sides exchanged opinions on questions of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation and on the economic and social reforms in the two countries. They expressed mutual satisfaction with the successful development of economic relations which are being enriched with new forms of cooperation, such as joint capital investments and industrial cooperation. The sides discussed problems of overcoming some difficulties in a further increase in Soviet-Yugoslav goods turnover.

SFRY Leaders in Kosovo 24 Feb To Calm Unrest

PM2602192389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Situation in Kosovo"]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Feb—S. Suvar, president of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee Presidium, and S. Milosevic, president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, arrived today in Pristina, administrative center of Yugoslavia's Kosovo Autonomous Province, where mass strikes by working people of Albanian nationality are continuing. The party leaders took part in a meeting of the autonomous province's political aktiv, which discussed the tasks of stabilizing the situation in the province.

TANJUG reports that the aktiv meeting noted that the strikes in many of the province's labor collectives are undermining the economy, exacerbating ethnic relations, and threatening the security and normal lives of the province's inhabitants. Party and state organs should take every measure to get life back to normal in the province, guided by the LCY Central Committee decisions on Kosovo.

In his speech at the aktiv meeting, S. Suvar noted that the crisis gripping the political and economic sphere has reached a peak. The process must therefore be halted at all costs. With regard to the Serbian constitutional amendments currently under discussion—amendments which have been one of the main causes behind the strikes by working people of Albanian nationality—the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stressed that they will not restrict Kosovo's autonomy. He called for the split on national grounds in the provincial party organization to be healed.

S. Suvar and S. Milosevic met with representatives of a number of strike-bound Kosovo enterprises the same day.

'Special Measures' for Worsening Kosovo Unrest

PM2802131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Special Measures in Kosovo"]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb—As TANJUG reports, the SFRY Presidency has today issued an order to introduce special measures in the Kosovo Autonomous Province to safeguard the constitutional system and ensure personal safety and security of property for the inhabitants of that province, and to protect social property, especially at facilities of great national economic importance. The decision has been taken because in the view of the SFRY Presidency there has been a serious worsening of the political situation in Kosovo and a direct threat to the constitutional social system has arisen.

The report published notes that the SFRY Presidency session paid special attention to saving the miners who are refusing to leave the coal mine and are demanding the removal of a number of the province's leaders from their posts as well as the rescinding of some planned amendments to the Serbian constitution.

The session defined some Yugoslavia-wide actions to normalize the situation in Kosovo, which should improve interethnic relations. Special significance is attached to the participation by all socialist forces in the country in thwarting the nationalists' destabilizing actions.

TANJUG reports that R. Morina has announced his resignation as president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium. The resignation of H. Azemi, president of the Pristina City Kosovo League of Communists City Conference, has been accepted.

Mass Protests, 'Political Crisis' in SFRY

LD0103202189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 1 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from correspondent V. Nogin in Yugoslavia]

[Text] It is well known that the events in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo in Yugoslavia have taken a very fierce turn of late. I think that what is happening there nowadays can only be described as a political crisis.

[Nogin] [video shows distant shot of a mass demonstration with waving banners and slogans, speakers addressing the gathering] A wave of protest meetings in which many thousands of people took part swept through the country yesterday in connection with the sharp deterioration of the situation in Kosovo, where the Albanian nationalists organized a series of strikes to prevent the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of Serbia, which this province is part of, and with the aim of achieving the resignation of the recently elected Kosovo party leadership. [video shows the gathering, then focuses on a uniformed man and his gun; more uniformed men also shown]

Apart from this, the persecution of the Serbs and the Montenegrins, who have been living in Kosovo for a long time, is incessant here. This is causing their mass departure from this province. By a decision of the SFRY Presidency, special measures, aimed at normalizing the situation, have been introduced in Kosovo. [video shows a column of tanks driving along a road in a rural area]

Attempting at least in some measure to reduce the tension in Kosovo, the party leaders of the province have announced their resignations. The issue of changes to the Serbian Constitution is somewehat more complicated. According to existing laws, Serbia cannot effectively influence the state of affairs in the province because it [Kosovo] does not have the same rights as the republic of which it is a part. The changes are aimed at eliminating this contradiction. It is precisely this fact that is producing a stormy and negative response from the nationalistically inclined population of Kosovo. [video shows Nogin standing in front of a television set showing Milosevic speaking in a studio]

A mass demonstration against the actions of the Albanian nationalists was held in Belgrade in front of the SFRY Assembly building. Approximately 1 million people gathered here. The participants voiced support for the forthcoming constitutional changes in Serbia and spoke against the resignations of the new Kosovo party leadership, believing that it is conducting a correct policy. They also denounced support for the demands of the Kosovo strikers on the part of a number of social and public organizations in Slovenia and Croatia. The meeting went on for more than 20 ours. The particiants were addressed by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and late in the evening by Slobodan Milosevic, leader of the League of Communists of Serbia. [video shows a huge rally, banners waving, slogans on banners, a group of uniformed men in the forefront, Milosevic addressing the rally] It was emphasized at all meetings held that the activity of the Kosovo extremists is seriously threatening the stability of Yugoslavia, and is worsening the already complex internal political and economic situation in the country.

Serbs, Montenegrins Protest Kosovo 'Concession'

PM0103121189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent Ye. Fadeyev dispatch: "Yugoslavia: Rally in Belgrade"]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb—The Kosovo drama resulting from the 8-day strike by Trepca miners seemed to be over. Their demand for the resignation of the autonomous province's party leaders was met, and they themselves emerged from the mine late yesterday evening.

But this enforced resignation of Kosovo's party leaders from their posts—and this is precisely how it is viewed in the country—today aroused a strong wave of protest among the Serbian and Montenegrin population. They considered it a concession to separatist and nationalist Albanian elements and viewed it as showing a reluctance to heed the voice of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia].

A rally is being held in Belgrade today outside the SFRY Federal Assembly building in support of the leadership of Yugoslavia and Serbia (the autonomous province of Kosovo is part of this republic). More than 1 million people are participating in it. They have come here to voice their disagreement with the enforced resignation of the autonomous province's party leaders. R. Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, addressed the gathering. He declared in his speech that the SFRY leadership will make every effort necessary to preserve constitutional order and ensure tranquility for all Yugoslav citizens. There can be no concessions to those who wish to jeopardize the process of the democratic reforms now under way in the country and the unity of the Yugoslav peoples and ethnic groups.

Yugoslav trade unions have called for all strikes to end and for problems to be settled by democratic means and by means of an open dialogue. It was emphasized that unified all-Yugoslav actions aimed at resolving all questions must be carried out in the country—actions which will not divide but, on the contrary, unite the working class.

LCY Rejects Albanian Nationalists' 'Pressure'

PM0203123789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Kolosov report under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": " 'Without a United Yugoslavia We Are All Nothing!' Million-Strong Demonstration in SFRY Capital"]

[Text] Belgrade—On Tuesday at about 0600 hours there was a phone call at the correspondents' office. I heard my Yugoslav friend's agitated voice: "Thousands of people are marching through the city center. Don't miss it..." Nothing had been announced earlier. About a million people took part in the demonstration in front of the SFRY Federal Assembly building, which continued all day from early morning until late in the evening. There had never been such a demonstration in the capital.

I couldn't get through to the scene of events either by car or on foot. Not only the square, but also the adjacent streets were packed with people, shoulder-to-shoulder. I had to turn to the television set.

The demonstrators were protesting against the actions of Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo. As it became clear, Belgrade students and the capital's 3,000 cabdrivers had initiated the meeting.

What were the demonstrators demanding? To name once and for all the separatist leaders who are taking many misled Albanians with them by inflaming nationalist sentiments; to decisively refuse to accept the resignation of the Kosovo leaders Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azem, and Ali Sukrija, who consistently act from internationalist positions (they were forced to resign in order to save the health and life of Albanian miners whom the nationalist elements were keeping underground after provoking them to a "hunger strike"); and to determine to what degree S. Suvar, president of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee Presidium, and S. Korosec, secretary of the

LCY Central Committee Presidium, are responsible for the situation that has taken shape in Kosovo, and for the support demonstrated by certain Slovene and Croatian party functionaries for the Albanian separatists.

While the meeting was under way in Belgrade, the Albanian miners in Kosovo finally emerged from the pit, and some of them were immediately hospitalized. But the situation in the autonomous province is extremely complex. All the Serbian and Montenegrin members of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium have announced their resignations. The SFRY Presidency has been forced to introduce special measures throughout the autonomous province to protect constitutional order—calm and the inviolability and safety of all Kosovo citizens and their property. Television showed columns of tanks and tarpaulin-covered military trucks carrying soldiers moving toward Pristina, the province's main town.

Meanwhile events continued to develop in Belgrade. Water tanks were brought in, and bread and kefir were being handed out. Some 150,000 militiamen and security officials kept order, television reporters said. There were virtually no incidents.

One speaker after another took the platform. Many party and state figures spoke, including R. Dizdarevic, chairman of the SFRY Presidency, who was met with applause. He stated that all Yugoslavia's problems can be resolved only by following the path of the fraternity and unity of all Yugoslav peoples, for otherwise the sacrifices made by the country, which lost 1.7 million of its sons and daughters in the national liberation struggle, would lose all meaning.

The SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium was in continuous session in the capital. Late in the evening, under floodlights, it was announced, in behalf of the country's supreme leadership, that it had agreed to the demands of the meeting's participants. The names of the organizers of the November disturbances last year and of the present dramatic events in Kosovo will be announced in the near future; and these people will be punished in accordance with the constitutional laws, and in particular for the damage inflicted on the health of the strikers whom they misled. The legality of creating new political organizations such as the Social Democratic League in Slovenia that has recently emerged, about which Belgrade has thus far remained silent, will be examined.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium cannot, it was announced, agree with the methods of blackmail and pressure on the part of Albanian nationalists and separatists, in which connection it supports all those who were against the forced resignations of R. Morina, H. Azem, and A. Sukrija, who are carrying out the LCY Central Committee's policy in Kosovo Autonomous Province. Finally, the LCY Central Committee approves the amendments introduced into the Serbian Constitution—which, as it was said, is an equal among Yugoslavia's equal republics.

Slobodan Milosevic, chairman of the Serbian League of Communists' Central Committee Presidium, who was greeted tumultuously by the participants, spoke at the conclusion of the meeting, stressing that no one will succeed in infringing on Yugoslavia's fraternity and unity and tearing it apart.

The protest meeting in Belgrade was accompanied by solidarity meetings in cities in Serbia, Montenegro, and other republics that were attended by thousands of people. Dozens of telegrams have arrived in support of the LCY Central Committee line at this difficult and dramatic time for the country. The newspaper BORBA expressed the prevailing mood in the country most concisely and eloquently with its front-page headline "Without a United Yugoslavia We Are All Nothing."

Moscow Albanian Beam Views Events in Kosovo

AU0103164689 Moscow in Albanian to Albania
1530 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Aleksandr Shakin commentary]

[Text] Kosovo is an autonomous province in Yugoslavia, which, however, has its own distinguishing characteristics. I do not believe I will be contradicted when saying that the current difficulties in Kosovo frequently manifest themselves in an acute manner. Kosovo has the lowest living standards and the highest rate of unemployment and illiteracy. It is against this social background that the nationality question has also erupted in the province.

According to various reports, the situation is serious. The LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] has several times attempted to stabilize the situation in the province. Yet the situation has assumed a dramatic nature during the past few days. Some 1,300 miners of Albanian nationality refused to come out of the pits, demanding the resignation of some members of the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] and the abandonment of proposed amendments to the Constitution of Serbia. The strikers were supported by students and other workers in Kosovo. As is reported in the newspapers, a general political strike is sweeping the province, with possible unforeseeable consequences for the province and the country as a whole. The SFRY Presidency imposed special measures to protect law and order in the province. Other measures have been adopted to ease the tension in Kosovo. The miners' strike lasted 8 days. Their demand for the resignation of some of the province's leadership was met and they have now been reunited with their families.

However, no sooner had the strike ended than 1 million people gathered before the Assembly building in Belgrade, protesting the actions of extremists in Kosovo and expressing their support for the LCY and the Serbian LC. The meeting was addressed by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, who said that no concessions would be made to those who endanger the democratic process now being implemented.

In conclusion, I would like to add that the problems must be resolved, not through actions that divide people, but through actions that bind them closely together.

Hungarian Premier To Visit Moscow From 2 Mar

Links Soviet, Hungarian Reforms

PM0203103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] Budapest, 1 Mar—Restructuring in the Soviet Union and the process of economic and political reform in Hungary show that both countries are actively searching for new paths of socialist building and striving to create a more effective model of socialism. This was stated by M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, at a meeting with Soviet journalists today pegged to his coming working visit to the USSR.

The MSZMP and the Hungarian Government, he said, wholly support the new principles of relations among the socialist states proclaimed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in his speech at the meeting with working people in Kiev. The essence of these principles is that all peoples, making their socialist choice, determine for themselves the forms, means, and methods—according with their historic national values, economic possibilities, and spiritual potential—of building a new society. These include deeper and more scientifically substantiated consideration for joint interests, solidarity, and mutual aid. The implementation of these principles could mark the beginning of a new chapter in the development of Soviet-Hungarian relations.

Dwelling on economic ties between the two countries, the Hungarian head of government pointed to the importance of further developing new forms of economic ties, including strengthening contacts among enterprises and labor collectives. It is exceptionally important in this connection to overcome barriers hampering this development. The restructuring process in the Soviet Union and the process of socialist renewal in Hungary have specific aims whose achievement will certainly serve to strengthen socialism's international positions and, consequently, the cause of peace and mutual understanding among the peoples, the chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers stressed in conclusion.

PRAVDA Welcomes Visit

PM0203104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit to Soviet Union by Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, arrives on a working visit to Moscow today. [passage omitted]

Soviet people warmly welcome the visit to our country by M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and are confident that the visit will further strengthen the friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR and Hungary and between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples.

*New Hungarian Law Allows Multiparty System

WA1807053089 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 7

[Article by Galina Gerasimova: "In The Face of Difficult Problems"]

[Text] Today's political life in Hungary is saturated with events like never before. Political processes are distinctly gathering speed. The tension in the economy has become stronger: standards of living have declined, and the material position of a large number of people has worsened. The most recent price increase encompassed the broad spectrum of "living standards": groceries, household products, medicine, publications, transportation... And the statements of the workers of the small "Taluks" industrial cooperative, published in the pages of the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, are understandable. They expressed their concern, and wrote that a number of people have neither the possibility nor the desire to engage in deep political discussion because the concerns of those living on 4,000-5,000 forints a month are edged out by other topics. And this is also a fact of the country's present-day life.

But nevertheless, political discussions are white hot. They encompass a broad range of issues, among which is the pointed discussion of the path to realization of the resolutions of the All-Hungarian Party Conference, which has charted a course toward renewal. Under discussion are the course of political restructuring and the reform of political institutions.

More than a few alternative movements and associations have been created in Hungary in the last few months. Among them are some with pretensions to the status of a party. With enormous tension, the country followed the course of the session of the Hungarian state assembly, which discussed legislative projects for meetings and associations. It began 20 December 1988, and then continued from 10 January of this year, due to the full agenda. The course of the session was broadcast on radio and television. During those days, in many enterprises, offices and even stores, radios were not turned off; televisions were on in display windows. It seemed as if people were afraid to tear themselves away from the events oCentral Committeeurring at the session. The role and activity of each deputy became more clearly visible.

The law adopted by the Hungarian State Assembly confirmed the right of citizens to create associations that do not contradict the laws and the Constitution. In principle, this does not preclude the creation of other parties, of a multiparty system. The official meetings of the representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] and alternative organizations were gone through quickly; this was a dialogue that attracted wide public attention.

When the right to assembly and rally is discussed, what is being foreseen is the opportunity for peaceful assembly, demonstration, and display, and the authorities can forbid these only in strictly stipulated cases: for example, when their conduct contradicts the Constitution; or discriminates on the basis of nationality, race, or religion; or incites people to war; or in several other cases.

The main problems, the "focal points" of the tension of the nation's situation today was analyzed in the speech of the MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz at the party Central Committee Plenum of 11 February. It gives a picture of the country's economic and political situation; and the causes of the current situation are traced. It was said in the speech that the majority of the citizens value the socialist system, the achievement of results, and the international authority of Hungary. In the interest of socialism, people want to free themselves of existing errors in its development as quickly as possible. More and more people understand that fruitless political discussions divide society: they do not fortify its solidarity, but only contribute to the growth of its opponents; and instead of the desired national unity, they may become sources of national dissociation, eliciting confrontation in society.

An informational communique about the plenum states that the MSZMP Central Committee is absolutely determined to follow the realization of deep reform of the system of political institutions. The opinion of the MSZMP Central Committee is expressed that in the nation, political pluralism may be realized within the framework of a multiparty system. It also states that since society is unprepared for the early realization of political power based in a multiparty system, a danger of destabilizing, uncontrollable processes exists. This does not serve the interests of the powers who have responsibility for the fate of the country. Therefore, a gradual, stable transfer is necessary, with the support of political reformations in a controlled framework. In an interview summing up the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum, given to Hungarian radio and television, K. Grosz said he did not feel as if the multiparty system in and of itself could guarantee that analogous errors would not be repeated in society in the future.

It time, a special committee was created by the resolution of the Hungarian party conference. Set before it (it comprises four subcommittees) was the task of conducting an analysis of the country's 40 years of development, and formulating proposals for the project of a new program for the MSZMP. This produced a strong response and impassioned discussions in society, with mention of the conclusions of the MSZMP Central Committee subcommittee for historical matters, and the evaluation of the events of 1956 as "a popular uprising against an oligarchic form of power that was destroying the nation." The points of view expressed in the course of the discussion were far from simple. A thorough exchange of opinions took place at the plenum on the matter of assessing the events of 1956. The discussion at the plenum allows the conclusion to be drawn that the then leadership's incapacity for renewal led to a political explosion in 1956. It was noted that as a result "there began a true uprising, a people's uprising, in which the forces of democratic socialism played their role, however, from the very onset; forces, declassed elements striving toward restoration, were inseparably present. Since the end of 1956, counterrevolutionary activities have increased..."

The MSZMP Central Committee considers conducting further research, based on facts and documents, into the national tragedy of 1956 to be important.

A special issue of the theoretical journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE just appeared, publishing 80 pages of the subcommittee's research. And now, after becoming familiar with it, the public must express its own opinion and evaluate the past decades.

But nevertheless, on today's agenda the questions of the country's further development stand first. What is to be done further, how should we work? Current problems, discussion of concepts of the new Constitution, and renovation of the agricultural policy were the concerns of the recent MSZMP Central Committee Plenum.

CSSR Premier's Visit Furthers Economic Ties

LD2502152189 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Commentary by TASS political observer Aleksandr Kondrashov on the official working visit to the USSR by Ladislav Adamec, CSSR prime minister and CPCZ Presidium member]

[Excerpt] It is clear that we must work though many things in bilateral and mainly economic relations. We have let ourselves be carried away for too long with the increased billions in mutual trade. The noise of compressor stations on oil pipelines and gas lines, and also the noise of trains filled with ore and finished products travelling between the two countries, hid for many years the concern over the low proportion of production cooperation and of exports and imports, over the products for which scientific findings are used, and over the low quality of products we have supplied to each other.

The usual extensive features of our cooperation were also marked by typical extensive features of our cooperation. Over 300 of our enterprises and plants and institutions declared themselves exponents of these progressive forms of cooperation. However, it was found that only perhaps one-third of them are capable of cooperating efficiently.

There are, however, much bigger problems as well—above all the reduction of the volume of foreign trade contacts and unfavorable trade [words indistinct] of the USSR. This is reflected above all in the reduction of the prices of Soviet energy resources. Practice has shown, however, that a situation such as this is not helpful to the Czechoslovak side. The radical purchase of Czechoslovak goods by the USSR puts a number of enterprises in Czechoslovakia in a complicated situation connected with the sale of products.

The talks by the CSSR federal premier in Moscow helped to make a thorough analysis of the existing situation, helped set out some measures for overcoming these disproportions, and mainly helped work out principally new ways for developing mutual economic relations on the basis of involvement of intensive factors of growth. The proof of this was the signing of the concept of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia for 15-20 years. This document is based on the structural changes in the economies of the two countries and envisages the possibility of change in the sphere of mutual cooperation—let us say the reduction of the supplies of Soviet iron ore in connection with the reduction of the volume of metallurgical production in Czechoslovakia, or the narrowing of the range of supplies of Czechoslovak machinery into the USSR, which is based on a considerable reduction of a relatively wide variety of products from Czechoslovak industry.

One of the basic tasks to be worked out is increasing the quality of supplied goods, the priority development of direct relations, and the foundation of joint enterprises. As the conclusions of the talks by the CSSR federal premier in Moscow have shown, the issue of direct relations was given most attention. Both sides thoroughly analyzed possible ways to ensure that the efficiency of these forms of cooperation is not only a pleasant exception, but that all established direct relations function fully. Therefore, the agreement on the continuation of the work by experts who would steadily deal with all necessary financial, price, organizational, and legal problems is also very important. Undoubtedly much will be achieved in this direction.

We belive that important momentum wil derive from the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks concerning assessment of aspects of cooperation between the two countries within the CEMA framework, and above all concerning their participation in implementation of the comprehensive program of scientific and technical cooperation up to the year 2000. In my view, this is one of the most promising ways to develop the proportion of scientific and innovative goods in production and mutual trade. [passage omitted]

West Europe

Council of Europe Chief Supports Restructuring

LD2702092289 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Strasbourg February 27 TASS—Europe is our common home and I share the all-European home idea, which was put forward by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, French Senator Luis Jung told TASS on February 21.

The Council of Europe, with its headquarters in Strasbourg, unites 22 West European countries. It has vast potential for establishing cooperation in science, culture and education.

All European nations have a common destiny, Jung said, they should be together, work together, supplementing each other. Jung said that Europe had lately become a more secure place to live in, and stressed that disarmament was a condition for peace in the continent. People should use the results of their labour, but not waste it in the production of armaments. This is now accepted by all, and we should learn to trust each other. Confidence could help bring about disarmament, he stressed. In his opinion, success in this sphere will create new conditions for the socio-economic development of all European nations and facilitate their mutualy beneficial cooperation.

Jung expressed his support for broader cooperation between the Council of Europe and the Soviet Union. The beginning to cooperation was laid by a Soviet parliamentary delegation" during a recent visit to Strasbourg. Cooperation, he believes, can embrace science, youth, cultural and ecological problems and also human rights. If such a tendency continues, nobody shall be able to prevent our future progress.

In conclusion, Luis Jung wished perestroyka success. Mikhail Gorbachev has launched a great crusade, but it is not an easy task, he stressed. Many obstalces, egoism and individual interests will have to be overcome. There is no alternative to perestroyka, but this policy should have time to succeed. I hope perestroyka will be crowned with success, Luis Jung said.

PCI's Occhetto Views Talks With Gorbachev

LD0103215989 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 1 mar 89

[Text] Rome March 1 TASS—Achille Occetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], called his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev "very useful, frank and very interesting". He noted at a press conference on the results of his working visit to the USSR, which was held at the Rome International Airport on Wednesday that a veritable political discussion was held in Moscow, during which the sides examined important questions on perestroyka and the new policy of the Italian Communist Party.

The sides discussed questions pertaining, above all, to Europe and the process of European integration, the Soviet position on these processes and the main international issues, Occhetto said.

Spanish Foreign Minister Interviewed Prior to Visit

LD2602184489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Interview with Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez by V. Gorkayev in Madrid, date not given, in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation, from the "International Panorama" program presented by Georgiy Zubkov—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zubkov] Now we will give the floor to Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez. A visit to our country is expected in the next few days. The minister is arriving both as a representative of his own state and as president of the EEC. This year the Common Market is headed by Spain, and Fernandez-Ordonez is president of the Council of Ministers of the EEC.

[Gorkayev] Mr Minister, you are traveling to Moscow for the first time as representative not only of Spain but also the EEC. Apart from the common interests of the EEC, we are entitled to speak of the common interests of Europe as a whole. Where do they lie from your point of view?

[Fernandez-Ordonez] The main problem in Europe is overcoming its division, that is, making headway in a process in which, I believe, restructuring plays a fundamental role. The European countries have to be brought closer together. On the other hand, one must not forget that relations between Europe and the United States have also always been of great significance, and, returning to the process of restructuring, I would call it a process of rejuvenation. It has to help Europe acquire youth, renewal, and this is possible because dialogue is at the present time developed as never before, mutual understanding is great as never before, and there is more rapprochement than ever before. All of this is a quite new phenomenon of fundamental significance. Perhaps we still lack the historical perspective to appraise this properly. I think that we are without doubt living through historic changes of exclusive importance, and not to see this means living with your eyes shut. The Spaniards have a proverb: one swallow does not make spring, but we can not see a great many swallows, and this is evidence of the advent of a new climate in the world.

[Gorkayev] One can read in the Spanish press that one of the tasks Spain is setting itself, in heading the EEC, lies in developing the community's relations with the Soviet Union. How would you assess the level of these relations? What, in your view, still needs to be done for their development?

[Fernandez-Ordonez] My recent meeting in Vienna with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in my capacity as president of the EEC Council of Ministers inaugurated a political dialogue which will continue. In this sense, it was of great significance. The mechanisms for dialogue were found, and I am speaking both of the EEC and the USSR. We, in our turn, have asked the European Commission to study a treaty between the EEC and the Soviet Union, and its elaboration has made quite a lot of headway. This process is continuing. As concerns bilateral relations between our countries, we have established a system for consultations between the two governments, it functions very well, and bilateral relations in general are excellent in my view.

[Gorkayev] Spanish culture is very popular in the USSR. What aspects of our country's culture are familiar to you, and close to your heart?

[Fernandez-Ordonez] I would begin my help with Russian and Soviet culture at the same time. They are traditionally popular in Spain. The whole of Russian literature is well known here, especially its major representatives, in particular Dostoyevskiy. Russian and Soviet music is very popular, from the great Russian romantics to Shostakovich. Your ballet inspires admiration, and you know, of course, that the ballerina Maya Plisetskaya is currently working in Spain; she is in charge of our ballet, which is a great honor for us. So it can be said that your culture is very close to the hearts of Spaniards. Spain has, by the way, always taken an interest in what is going on in your country, because relations between our peoples and interest in one another can trace their roots back into history, and my colleague and friend Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was able to convince himself of this during his visit to Madrid. He walked around the streets and chatted with ordinary people, and he was received with exclusive friendliness, in a typically Spanish way, as a friend is received.

[Gorkayev] What would you like to convey to Soviet people on the eve of your visit?

[Fernandez-Ordonez] Let's struggle together for the common aim, which is called peace. [video shows correspondent interviewing Fernandez-Ordonez in office]

U.S. Starting 'New Military Relations' With Portugal

LD2602180989 Moscow in Portuguese to Portugal 2100 GMT 25 Feb 89

["Parliamentary Theses" presented by Yuriy Konstantinov]

[Text] Commenting on U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Lisbon, the U.S. press pointed out that the complex assistance program agreed on at talks in the

Portuguese capital will contribute to the establishment of new military relations between Portugal and the United States. It is stressed that Portugal should play a more active role in NATO's defense. What is the reason for this reference to new military relations between NATO partners? Our observer Yuriy Konstantinov writes:

[Konstantinov] Were there no close and confidential relations between the two countries previously, when Lisbon lined up with everything for its overseas partner? The truth is that the United States, which is totally pleased with its close political and military cooperation with Portugal, would like to not only increase its military presence in Portugal, but would also like Portugal to play an important strategic role in air and naval operations in the NATO air defense. The Bush administration obtained the necessary consent from the Social Democratic government. This is why Washington felt it was possible to considerably increase military supplies to Portugal—specifically to supply 20 F-16's; Hawk missiles; dozens of combat helicopters; 60 tanks; and electronic weapons. This military equipment is to strengthen the NATO Portuguese zone. The military equipment which the United States is to supply to Portugal this year is worth $150 million. We must remember that the U.S. quid pro for the lease of the Lajes military base on Terceira island, which the Pentagon is turning into it support base in the Atlantic, is just as impressive. This totals 40 billion escudos per annum.

In short, Washington is not sparing military expenses for its Iberian ally, which is surprisingly docile with regard to satisfying all the militaristic aspirations of the United States. The security interests of Portugal do not seem to have been taken into consideration by the Social Democratic government.

Commentary Views Belgian Troop, Arms Reductions

LD2502074289 Moscow TASS in English 2307 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 25 TASS—By TASS Political News Analyst Albert Balebanov:

Belgium has announced the reduction of its purchases of combat equipment and withdrawal of part of its forces from the FRG. Belgium's Minister of National Defence Guy Coeeme told a news conference in Brussels that out of financial considerations the government put off indefinitely the making of a decision about purchasing a consignment of most up-to-date military aircraft. "It would be irresponsible to take the country to this road at a time when we are striving to save funds", he said.

There was a stiff competition for the Beligian order of late among the French Dassault, the U.S. General Dynamics Corporation and a consortium of a number of West European aviation industry firms.

Coeeme said the Ministry of National Defence intends to withdraw from the FRG anti-aircraft units, a field artillery fire adjustment battery, a field engineer company and three sections of fighter aviation. A total of 1,400 servicemen are thus to be withdrawn. The minister estimated that the implementation of these decisions will enable Belgium to save at least two billion Belgium francs. The withdrawal of Belgian Army units from the FRG territory where they are stationed in the framework of NATO strategy in central Europe is planned to be started from next year.

It should be noted that the Belgian minister made this statement at a time when NATO countries actively discuss the decision of the Warsaw Treaty countries about a substantial reduction of their Armed Forces and armaments, while officials in Western capitals rack their brains as to how to answer these initiatives of Warsaw Treaty countries. And though Belgian plans are connected with the county's financial difficulties, they look symbolic, nevertheless.

It should also be noted that Brussels took this sovereign step despite the pressure of the NATO alliance which demanded more than once that Belgium increase its military expenditures, and modernise its armaments by purchasing new combat equipment. And each time nato leaders try to impress it on Belgium that its actions, allegedly, lead to the lowering of NATO military might and reproach it for failing to comply with its obligation.

Despite the Pentagon's pressure Belgium had earlier refused to purchase the patriot rocketry system from the USA which was being imposed on it to replace anti-aircraft Nike missiles deployed in the FRG. Brussles then declared that it cannot afford to spend 30 billion francs for this purpose.

And at the the latest session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group Belgium declared against the modernisation of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe on which Washington insists. Belgium declared this would be premature as NATO'S global approach to disarmament problem has not been determined. This step of unheard-of audacity on the part of a small North Atlantic country then caused stormy criticism of the allies. But many of them started using Belgium's arguments later. During the recent tour of Western Europe by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, the governments of the FRG, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Spain, Greece and Iceland declared for deferring the decision on the modernisation.

Austrian Foreign Minster on Bilateral Relations

LD2502042289 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Vienna February 24 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

Contacts between our countries are deeply rooted, TASS was told by Austria's Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock on the 65th anniversary of the founding of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Austria.

Austria was among the first European states to establish diplomatic and consular relations with the young U.S.S.R. Bilateral relations, based on principles of mutual respect and confidence have since been intensively developing.

The Soviet Union's contribution to Austria's liberation from Nazi tyranny shall never be forgotten in Austria, said Alois Mock. The USSR is one of the countries, signatories to the state treaty on restoration of an independent and democratic Austria, which ensures its permanent neutrality. This status reliably promotes the expansion of bilateral relations and fruitful cooperation.

It is of special significance that this goodneighbourly policy is being supplemented with concrete deeds. This is illustrated above all by a network of treaties and agreements on Austrian-Soviet cooperation, including in the eocnomic, scientific, technological and industrial spheres.

The official visits of Austria's foreign minister and federal chancellor to Moscow in 1988 and their negotiations with Soviet leaders lent a fresh impetus to bilateral relations, said Alois Mock. Our relations became more sincere and active, prompting new forms of mutually beneficial cooperation, such as peaceful exploration of outer space and environmental protection as well as training of Soviet managers in Austria. Both countries' are striving to further consolidate a climate of confidence in the relations between them, the minister said.

Western Media Create Sensation Over Hess Death

OW0203131689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1110 GMT 2 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] Recently, several Western newspapers and television companies began giving credence to all kinds of stories connected with Rudolf Hess, war criminal and former deputy in Hitler's Nazi party.

As is known, the Nuremberg trials held in 1946 sentenced Hess to life imprisonment. The criminal served his sentence at the Spandau prison in West Berlin. On 17 August 1987, the 93-year-old Hess committed suicide. Now, 18 months later, a sudden sensation: The BBC Television Company showed a program which maintains that Rudolf Hess did not kill himself, but was in fact killed. By whom and how? The BBC does not say. But the sensation does not end here. (Neil Thomas), a surgeon at an English military hospital in West Berlin, announced without any hesitation that it was not Hess at all who was in the Spandau prison but his double. Wunsiedel in West Germany, the place where the Nazi criminal is buried, has become a veritable Mecca for neo-Nazis and former Nazis. There, they pay tribute to Fuehrer's comrade-in-arms, and it is hard to understand whose interests, be it the neo-Nazis or some other circles, these doubtful newspaper sensations serve.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Aide Comments on 'Rectification' Program

PM0103130589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own Correspondent A. Moiseyev dispatch featuring interview with Francisco Linares Calvo, chairman of Cuban State Committee for Labor and Social Security, under the "Cuba Today" rubric: "Search for Change"]

[Text] Havana—Definite successes have been achieved in fraternal Cuba's economy during the years of socialist building. Hundreds of objective statistics attest to that. Global social product has increased, and fixed production capital has grown considerably. Social indicators have improved, particularly in health care and education. Per capita money incomes are rising. The Island of Freedom has scored impressive successes in life expectancy and reduced infant mortality.

In the past 20 years, however, as Cuban comrades have told me, a number of mistakes have been made in the country, including mistakes in economic development. First there were the so-called "leftist bias" and voluntarism, followed by a "rightist bias" and "economism," which brought powerful bureaucratic tendencies, sham prosperity, and formalism. But ultimately all this weakened the republic's economic mechanism despite great help from its socialist community partners.

Two years ago, on the initiative and under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba headed by Fidel Castro, a difficult process of "rectification," that is, of "correction" began on the Island of Freedom. This was an all-embracing fundamental process of eradicating past mistakes and eliminating negative trends. As the fraternal country's leaders explain, "rectification means looking for new solutions to old problems, rectification means promoting, creating, opening new paths, achieving a breakthrough, and making more rational and efficient use of intellectual and material resources." But ultimately the cleansing process must lead to the satisfaction of the whole population's needs and a considerable improvement in its life.

In this regard "rectification" is now setting the Cuban economy a very important and urgent problem—increasing the efficiency of social production. To resolve that task proposals are being prepared for improving the economic mechanism, notably in the labor and pay sphere. How are the third party congress resolutions being implemented here?

"Great work is in progress in our country to fulfill the decisions of that party congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, notably in the improvement of labor organization and wages," Francisco Linares Calvo, chairman of Cuba's state committee for labor and social security, said in conversation with me. "The main task is to raise Cubans' living standards on the basis of increased production efficiency. In 1987 alone, wages and pensions were raised for more than 1.3 million people using money from savings made.

"We are constantly reviewing the performance norms and improving their validity at all enterprises in the country. To a certain extent this has already been done now. The average performance norm fulfillment in the national economy is approximately 114 percent. Purposeful efforts to improve and standardize the wage rate schedule of jobs for all categories of workers are continuing. This will make it possible to remunerate them for their labor more fairly on the basis of skill and end results.

"We are constantly looking for the most effective links between wage scales and work results. Bonuses, which are currently insignificant, are still not an incentive to increase production, so we are now conducting a whole series of experiments in various national economic sectors to take better account of the law's requirements, to ensure distribution according to labor, and to link wages for all categories of workers more closely with work results."

"Comrade Minister," I said, "it is common knowledge that in some sectors of the Cuban national economy production capacities are still underutilized, average wages are rising faster than labor productivity, and people lack a material interest in the end results of production. There are other shortcomings, too. Your committee has devised and is conducting experiments in various economic sectors to eliminate those shortcomings and elaborate proposals to improve the economic mechanism. What is the thrust of the current search? What is its main task, and how are moral and material incentives designed to increase social production efficiency developing?"

"The main aim of all experiments," the state committee chairman replied, "is to try out the changes that we must make to forms and systems of labor remuneration and achieve greater efficiency and better results in material production and the provision of services to the population. This is no easy task. But it must be resolved. In this process, however, we are not forgetting the development of moral incentives. Since 1987 important experiments have been conducted in agriculture. For example, in dairy farming, poultry raising, and tobacco production. The scale of wages there is directly dependent on production growth. Furthermore, measures have been prepared to encourage specialists with secondary technical education to switch to work in production teams. Ten enterprises in Cienfuegos province are experimenting successfully with the amalgamation of trades and jobs. The effectiveness of the new wage rate schedules for workers in more general categories is being tested. Administrative and service posts are being standardized. The procedure for compiling staff rosters and so forth is being improved. In addition to all that the enterprises are also developing new methods of norm setting and labor organization and a procedure for certifying all categories of workers. In all around 200 enterprises will take part to some extent in our exploration."

[Moiseyev] "So, the diversity of the experiments makes it possible to take better account of the requirements of the law on distribution according to labor on the basis of Cuba's actual social and economic conditions. What are the initial results?"

[Linares Calvo] "Some positive results are already in evidence at all the enterprises where the searches are going on. Output quality has improved and its prime cost has fallen, labor productivity has increased, and plan targets are being overfulfilled. And workers' average monthly earnings are increasing. The main thing is that people now have an interest in better quality and more productive labor. Here are some examples for you. In dairy farming, the Nazareno agricultural enterprise has increased milk production by 10 percent, the production plan has been overfulfilled by 7 percent, wage costs per liter of milk have been reduced, and milk quality has improved appreciably; the number of leading workers at the unit has fallen by 71 percent, and the number of administrative staff has fallen by 29.2 percent.

"The Tablon stockraising enterprise in Cienfuegos province has also achieved good results. Furthermore, the administrative apparatus has been reduced there: by 45 percent. Positive results are also in evidence at the 'April 19' agricultural enterprise in Havana province.

"And the rate of engine repair at the capital's diesel motor repair plant has almost doubled.

"Here is another example: At the Conrado Pinya radio engineering plant in Havana labor productivity has risen by 11 percent, average monthly wages have risen by 9 percent, and volumes of production of the main types of output have increased considerably.

"Of course, it must be borne in mind that the experiments have only just begun. Therefore, we expect that the main positive results will come in the future, in the long term. We shall go on increasing enterprises' efficiency and more actively improving the economic mechanism and introducing economic accountability."

[Moiseyev] "The whole Island of Freedom has joined in the process of correcting the mistakes, the cause of 'rectification.' Labor discipline is being strengthened, albeit slowly, and elements of mismanagement are being eliminated. But as far as I can judge, the 'rectification' process does not contain any measures to radically change Cuba's economic mechanism. Of course, this is only the first stage in the preparation to improve this most complex mechanism. But what is the role of labor collectives in the process of remedying the mistakes and eliminating the negative trends in labor organization and wages?"

"As you yourself have noticed," F. Calvo said, concluding the conversation, "our country's working people have actively joined in the 'rectification.' Our committee's staffers are also contributing to this work. For example, around 1,000 outdated statutes governing bonuses for workers from the wages fund at various enterprises in the country at various enterprises in the country. A program has been devised to review and standardize all current performance norms in Cuba. Enterprises are waging a campaign against distortion of statistics in all its forms and collectives are working to achieve higher economic efficiency and labor discipline and make better use of work time and production capacities.

"Production teams of the new type are continuing to be created in many sectors of Cuba's national economy, and in construction collectives are being set up to perform the whole range of work and hand over facilities on a turnkey basis.

"The constant search for improved forms of labor organization and remuneration will help us to increase production efficiency and make the labor of each worker more attractive and socially useful."

Political & Social

Gorbachev Aides Cited on Internal Issues

Burlatskiy on Pluralism, Rights

AU0203145089 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Report on interview with Fedor Burlatskiy, "Mikhail Gorbachev's adviser," by Christian Schueller in Vienna, date not given—recorded; Burlatskiy statements in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] In the Kremlin's think tanks old concepts are being filled with new content. Pluralism—at present probably the most important keyword in Eastern Europe—is also keeping the Moscow leaders occupied. However, they do not want to understand pluralism in the same way as the Hungarians, that is, as a rejection of the one-party system. On the contrary, the CPSU is to be kept from breaking apart. The contrasts between conservatives and reformers are to be harmonized and not aggravated. Thus, according to the Soviets, pluralism means competition without any losers—a compromise with which such clear reformers as Fedor Burlatskiy, political scientist and human rights expert, also agrees.

[Begin Burlatskiy recording] There are very different currents in our society and our party and therefore they should also be represented at the top, including the conservatives. If we want to cling to the one-party system, we cannot simply say that only radical reformers are permitted in the leadership. Where should the others go? We do not have a multiparty system where the group that has been beaten can simply wait for its hour to come. [end recording]

It was more difficult for the reformers in Moscow than, for example, the Chinese reformers around Deng Xiaoping, Professor Burlatskiy says. China experienced a vehement swing to the left: the Cultural Revolution. Thus, it has been all the easier for Deng to make use of an equally vehement swing in the other direction, that is, toward a market economy. Things have been different in the Soviet Union. The years under Brezhnev were paralyzing, but not catastrophic. Thus, in the opinion of Gorbachev's adviser Burlatskiy, the impetus for a radical change is lacking in the Soviet Union. Therefore, reformers and inhibitors have to coexist. What about proportional representation in the Kremlin?

[Begin Burlatskiy recording] In our country a heated debate is going on about the rules according to which this pluralism is to be organized. Why? Because we are still afraid of disregarding a resolution of 1921. At that time, all organized groups within the party were prohibited on Lenin's initiative. Today the conservatives say that we have to stick to this and that the party's unity is at stake. However, the resolution of that time can also be viewed critically. Stalin made skillful use of party unity for himself. He eliminated all other groups and pushed his own Stalin group through. [end recording]

The CPSU is a prisoner of its own history—and yet Fedor Burlatskiy sees progress. A year ago, Gorbachev put him in charge of the commission that probably has the least power in the Soviet Union: an observer group for human rights. However, after the Vienna CSCE meeting, Burlatskiy believes that this commission has now become stronger. According to Burlatskiy, the priority of international law over the country's own laws has to be laid down once and for all. Only in this way can the traditionalists be prevented from regaining the upper hand. However, bureaucracy is striking back, that is, in the perpetual quarrel about the formulation of laws.

[Begin recording] [Burlatskiy] Let us take capital punishment as an example. We from the commission wanted to abolish it completely. As a result, it will be kept for certain cases. Now we want to have it excluded for political offenses in any event. Or let us take trial by jury—an old concern of mine. This exists in the new penal code, but juries do not decide on a sentence. Or the issue of emigration. In practice, the problem has almost been solved. However, we want a legal guarantee. The ministries say that the problem is foreign exchange. We do not have enough foreign exchange to give to every emigrant. I think that this is only an excuse.

[Schueller] Is there any chance at all for human rights, as long as the KGB acts like a state within the state?

[Burlatskiy] I am convinced that the KGB has long ceased to be the state within the state that it once was because today there are very different currents and groups within the KGB. [end recording]

Burlatskiy regards the nationality problem—a burning issue, just like the low standard of living—as the greatest danger to the extension of democracy.

[Begin Burlatskiy recording] The two problems are related. If the standard of living were higher, the nationality problem would not so pressing. Today everybody believes that the others live on his work. The Balts say: You are living at our expense. And the Russians say: Why is it precisely us who have the lowest standard of living? This is dangerous. The nationalist movements show the dangerous aspect of pluralism. [end recording]

However, also in this case, Professor Burlatskiy is against repression. For example, talks should be held with Armenian extremists, and they should not be imprisoned. However, it is here that the competence of the human rights functionary ends and the division of labor between the intellectuals and the security apparatus starts.

Zaslavskaya on Use of Opinion Polls

AU0103130489

[Editorial report] Vienna Television Service in German at 2007 GMT on 28 February 1989 carries in its "Auslandsreport" program a 10-minute feature by ORF correspondent Bernt Ender from Moscow on one of Mikhail Gorbachev's advisers, Tatyana Zaslavskaya who is developing the use of opinion polls in the Soviet Union.

Ender says that "Tatyana Zaslavskaya, who enjoys the party-state leader's full confidence, heads a project that is unusual for the Soviet Union—opinion research according to the Western model. The institute is housed in Lenin Prospekt 149 in a depressingly drab concrete silo." The institute covers an area of 500 square meters of office space and has 75 staff members. Zaslavskaya says partly in English and partly in Russian that paper is in short supply and the institute's computers are at the airport where they are safe from being stolen.

She explains the idea and reality of the new opinion poll strategy. Regional offices are being set up in all Soviet Republics, except for Siberia. These local bases send the data collected to Moscow. Gorbachev's opinion pollster finds that the way this is being handled is strange. She says: "Imagine, our people must fly from the country to Moscow, carrying a 15 kg briefcase full of opinion poll data in each hand, and then they return by the same troublesome way."

However, there are other, more serious problems, she says. Zaslavskaya complains about officials in Gorkiy who told her that they did not need "this modern stuff" at all. She says: "They just ignore us. They do not give us rooms. They refuse to give us any technical assistance. They inhibit our work wherever they can." However, she adds: "What is even worse than open sabotage is ignorance. Many of our officials have never heard about this method. They think nothing of it. They are our conservatives. They have always governed without public opinion." She says that these officials have a very low opinion of the common man, whom they consider totally incompetent.

According to Ender, Zaslavskaya is not only Gorbachev's opinion pollster, she also advises him on restructuring and takes part in the meetings of the Academy of Sciences. Gorbachev wants to have accurate information about the young people's idols, the social situation of young families, the people's opinion on codetermination and restructuring, among other things, Ender reports. With the Kremlin's approval, the U.S. Gallup Institute carried out a telephone opinion poll which revealed "that now no more than 12 percent of the Muscovites believes in an economic upswing; 1 year ago, it was 22 percent."

Ender says that Zaslavskaya "is closely associated with the power center and is able to interpret what is going on behind the scenes. She says: "I know, or rather, I suspect that a large part of the nationality conflicts has been organized by conservative political lobbies, meaning those who are opposed to restructuring. They know perfectly well what emotions are hidden behind the nationality issue, how deeply felt these emotions are, and how easy it is to cause a fire."

Zaslavskaya believes that "1989 will become an important year, the crucial year for restructuring, a fateful year. At the end of this year, I only see two alternatives—either the radically democratic road, or the old, beaten, conservative road, the slow road, paved with the usual old compromises. I think that by the end of this year, we will be able to say what road the Soviet Union will definitely embark upon in the future."

Ender ends his feature by reviewing a book she wrote on Gorbachev's strategy, and in which she says, according to Ender, that "it will take years, if not decades, before the Soviet society will be convinced of our road."

More on Election Campaigns of People's Deputies

Electoral Commission on Preparations

PM0103140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] A routine session of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies was held 28 February in Moscow in the House of the Unions.

A question was heard on election preparations in No 687 Alitusskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug in the Lithuanian SSR and No 130 Alma-Atinskiy-Leninskiy National Territorial Okrug in the Kazakh SSR. P.I. Aleksandravichyus and T.M. Ramandov, chairmen of the relevant commissions, and also Z.S. Aliyev and V.P. Mishkinis, members of the Central Electoral Commission, delivered reports. It was pointed out that all election measures are being implemented in the okrugs in accordance with the law and at the set times. Public organizations, labor collectives, and the population in their places of residence have taken an active part in them. At the same time the Central Electoral Commission drew the attention of the Alma-Ata Leninskiy and Alitusskiy Electoral Okrug okrug commissions to the need to exercise constant leadership over district commissions, provide voters with extensive information on the candidate deputies and the programs for their future activity, and ensure that candidates and their agents have equal opportunities for electioneering. Electioneering must be carried out within the framework of the law and socialist morality, on the principles of respect for the honor and dignity of every Soviet person.

Yu.P. Platonov, secretary of the USSR Architects Union Board, and V.P. Maslin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Foundation Board, reported on the preparations for the plenum and conference where USSR people's deputies will be elected from these public organizations. The Central Electoral Commission recommended that the Architects Union and Soviet Peace Foundation boards provide an opportunity for the candidate deputies to meet the largest possible number of the public organizations' members and participants in the elections, provide extensive coverage of the election programs, and help electoral commissions generalize voters' instructions and the proposals and comments sent to the candidates.

The Central Electoral Commission informed the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, the USSR Ministry of the Fishing Industry, the USSR Ministry of Geology, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the RSFSR Ministry of the River Fleet on the preparations for elections of USSR people's deputies at polar and hydrometeorological stations and also on vessels that will be at sea on election day. The appropriate okrug electoral commissions, ministries, departments, and local soviet ispolkoms have been instructed to prepare for and hold the elections, taking into consideration the special features and specific nature of work on ships and at polar and hydrometeorological stations.

In accordance with a report by A.V. Fedulova, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, decisions were adopted on the results of the examination of specific questions in the election campaign.

The session approved the text of a letter to be sent from the Central Electoral Commission to okrug electoral commissions on the organization of their work on the eve of and on election day; other questions were examined linked with the implementation of the present phase of the preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies.

The following took part in the commission session: A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; leaders of public organizations; and representatives of the mass media.

TV Shows Commission Meeting

LD0103114289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Another meeting of the Central Electoral Commission for the election of USSR people's deputies took place today in the House of Unions, Moscow. The preparation for the elections in the Alitusskiy Territorial Electoral Constituency No 687 of the Lithuanian SSR and the Alma-Atinskiy Leninskiy National and Territorial Constituency No 130 of the Kazakh SSR was described. [passage omitted]

Comrade Lukyanov, leaders of public organizations, and media representatives took part in the meeting of the commission. A detailed account of the meeting of the Central Electoral Commission will be published in the press.

Sakharov Misses Nomination Deadline

AU0103141489 Paris AFP in English 1339 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 1 (AFP)—Soviet human rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov cannot be a candidate for the new People's Congress of Deputies because he has passed the deadline for nomination by the Academy of Sciences, a senior official said Wednesday.

Dmitry Golovko, vice president of the Soviet electoral commission, said at a press conference that it was too late for the academy to rescind a previous decision not to nominate Mr. Sakharov, a physicist and academy member who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his human-rights campaigns.

That decision drew protests from more than 2,000 Soviet scientists. Mr. Sakharov had said he would not run for the Congress without the academy's backing.

Mr. Golovko said the academy had already selected the 23 candidates it wished to present at the March 26 elections.

He went on to say that there was an average of two candidates per seat in the 1,000 electoral districts, and 80 per cent of those are Communist Party members.

In one district in four, there will be only one candidate, he added. Final results for first round of the elections will be published within 10 days—but only two or three days for Moscow—and second rounds will be held if no candidate garners more than half the votes.

Medvedev on Lessons of Campaign

LD0103181389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] In Minsk today there was a meeting between Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and representatives of party and public organizations and representatives of Belorussian work collectives.

Sokolov, first secretary of the republican Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting, at which the participants expressed full support for the restructuring, assessed their own work in a self-critical way, and analyzed unresolved problems.

Comrade Medvedev then spoke and answered questions. Inter alia he stressed that the upcoming people's deputy elections and the entire election campaign will undoubtedly teach us much and are already now teaching us things. It is a serious political schooling both for leaders of any rank and for all citizens. Each Soviet person is receiving a real opportunity to influence the destiny of the country. It is now clear that there are no extras either among the electorate or among the deputy candidates. All of them have active roles in the democratization and restructuring. Each voice at these elections is a deciding vote.

Candidate's Military Ideas Questioned

PM2802160189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[Captain Third Rank V. Verbitskiy article under the rubric "Pulse of the Election Campaign": "Military Questions in a Candidate's Program. Are They Always Raised in a Well-Founded and Competent Fashion?"]

[Text] Liyepaya—First, I want to explain why I was interested in precisely this candidate deputy—Alfred Kazimirovich Chepanis, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. The point is that he is the only local contender for the mandate of USSR people's deputy to have unequivocally revealed his views and intentions on certain military questions. However, I must note that this is quite understandable since the No 711 Kuldigskiy Electoral Okrug, where A. Chepanis is standing as a candidate, is quite large and includes two cities of republic standing and five large rayons. Several troop contingents are stationed on its territory. So there will be a struggle for servicemen's votes.

But that is not the only reason. The chronology of events is important here. First, Alfred Kazimirovich sent me a duplicated resume of his election program. I was told after a debate with a group of military journalists in Riga that the candidate had erased two points in this document in the section "On Our State And Society" which were as follows: "reducing the term of mandatory military service to 1 year" and "deeming it expedient to create national [natsionalnyy] formations within the Soviet Army."

But 2 days later, 16 February, this program, including the aforementioned points, was published in full in a number of local newspapers....

First, I was surprised by a certain degree of inconsistency in the candidate's actions and, second, a number of the positions in his "military program" sounded so high-flown that it clearly needed more detailed clarification.

For these reasons I asked A. Chepanis to answer a few questions. We met in Kuldiga during an okrug election meeting. Here is the transcript of this conversation.

[Verbitskiy] Today from the rostrum you spoke of the need for a principled reshaping of the legislation on state borders and the country's defense. In your opinion, what specific changes must be made?

[Chepanis] The Soviet Union's state borders are immovable. They must be preserved as such. But the protection of these borders must undergo substantial democratization, and I know that the USSR Council of Ministers and, precisely, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers are working on this. The law must be democratized so that the local population of this electoral okrug, for instance, has free access to the Baltic. I stress again that this only applies to the local population.

As for legislation on defense, I am, unfortunately, not as familiar with it, but I believe that it should express our concept. We know from hearsay that our military doctrine is of a defensive character.

[Verbitskiy] Why from hearsay? It has been published and widely commented on....

[Chepanis] I would like a more precise account of it. I would also like the law to state more precisely the rights and duties of a military directorate's local organs. I am talking about military commissariats, which, owing to incomplete legislation, too often find themselves in conflict situations with local economic organs. Many questions, like the wages paid to people summoned to meetings and the rights of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises, and military commissariats have not been regulated fully in this respect. I advocate that all this be set to rights legislatively.

[Verbitskiy] You have published and spoken today from the rostrum phrases that you erased at first from your the election program: "Deem it expedient to create national formations in the Soviet Army." Can you explain, please, what you mean by this and why your stance has changed?

[Chepanis] I think it is possible and I support the opinion that national formations should be created within the Soviet Army with a single uniform, language, and discipline. Yet the Lettish Red Riflemen in their time were no disgrace to the Red Army, indeed they brought it glory. Are we really worse than them now? During the Great Patriotic War a Lettish Rifles division operated successfully within the Soviet Army. It won many state awards. That is why I don't see anything wrong in creating national formations in our present—I repeat—united Army.

[Verbitskiy] What is the point of them if, as you say, a single language, discipline, and uniform will be retained? Under those conditions this is no more than artificial restriction of opportunities for international education. Moreover, this kind of troop collective existed ages ago. For instance, there are ships in the Baltic Fleet named "Komsomolets Latvii," "Komsomolets Litvi," and "Komsomolets Estonii." But young lads of any nationality inhabiting these regions come and serve here on assignment from Komsomol republic central committees. But my understanding was that you are insisting on troop units being set up on a national basis?

[Chepanis] No, that's quite impossible in our country's conditions because we have large peoples and small peoples. I had something else in mind at first. The Border Guards, for instance, have an outpost named for the Lettish Red Riflemen, and there are other units like that. They are generally exemplary units. But I would like them to have a more significant proportion of ethnic cadres.

[Verbitskiy] What is your attitude to the problem of officers in the reserve and in retirement in the republic?

[Chepanis] I agree with the way the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolved this question literally a few days ago: Officers who lived in Latvia prior to conscription should have a priority right to obtain apartments within our republic.

[Verbitskiy] Alfred Kazimirovich, could you please explain your reasons for saying that the length of service should be reduced to 1 year?

[Chepanis] In the socialist countries the length of service is considerably shorter than in the Soviet Army. For instance, I know that soldiers serve 6 months in Hungary.... (Reference from the Military Encyclopedical Dictionary: The length of compulsory military service in the Armies of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the CSSR is 2 years, 6 months, 6 months, 2 years, 2 years, and 16 months respectively—V.V.). Yet the guys in the Warsaw Pact countries' Armies are mainly handling Soviet military hardware. I think that they handle it well. That is why I am convinced that an enlisted man, NCO, or anyone else on real military service can attain the requisite level in a much shorter period.

Next. Maybe we should change the procedure for training our soldiers. I am convinced of this, since I know from what servicemen have told me that soldiers waste a great deal of time unproductively in the 2 years. The length of service could therefore probably be reduced. But I think that we need to switch to a professional Army in the future....

[Verbitskiy] But there is also another opinion: A professional Army necessitates, for instance, 5-8 times more state expenditure. Yes, and also a reduction in the length of service—the problem is more serious than it sometimes appears. It presupposes the implementation of a whole series of radical measures. For instance, a substantial improvement in young people's predraft training. However, say in Liyepayskiy Rayon, where you were until recently first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party raykom, the crime rate among young people is growing steadily....

[Chepanis] I intend, irrespective of whether I am elected deputy or not, to submit a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding the need to legislatively allow young people to work. We now prohibit them from working before the age of 16, but after 16 they refuse. What misfortune would befall someone if they began to work at the age of 10?! Of course, work of which they were capable. We also spoil young people by alienating them from work. All crimes stem from idleness. That is the most important thing. Work alone can break someone of any bad ways. [Chepanis ends]

Our conversation ended here, although more than enough remained for controversy. The candidate deputy proclaimed the need to revive private land ownership throughout the country, stop the export of consumer goods and products from the republic, and create a "free economic zone" in Latvia capable of "interesting foreign states"....

The second candidate deputy for Kuldigskiy Electoral Okrug Ilmar Pileniyeks, chairman of "Barme" Kolkhoz, made practically no mention of military questions. This candidate deputy stated from the rostrum that the Soviet people "are clothed shabbily and eat anything going," that the Communist Party "has lost the people's confidence," and that a peasant party should, supposedly, be set up.... Is there any need for comment here?

But let me return to the candidate who is today a representative of the republic's government. I think I should add a few private comments to our conversation. In my opinion, in expressing his opinion, Alfred Kazimirovich relied, to put it mildly, on incomplete knowledge of the questions under discussion. Suffice it to mention his discourse on Soviet military doctrine, which, in the candidate deputy's opinion, "we know of from hearsay." But that's not even the main point. Once again, unfortunately, as has been the case recently, one thing was heard from the rostrum, another in the lobbies, and yet another in an official interview.... Well, what sort of flexibility of position is this?

...There was no secret ballot at the okrug election meeting. Something else happened. Latvian People's Front activists organized a whole attack on A. Chepanis with the aim of nominating a candidate from the okrug—I. Pileniyeks, who is unreservedly supported by the People's Front. This resulted in two candidates being taken on. However, it is obvious that voters in military uniform should think even more carefully about whose name to leave on the voting paper when they put it in the ballot box 26 March....

Pugo Speaks of Party Discipline

LD0103221489 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Kalinin March 1 TASS—The party documents form a single whole. It is impermissible to isolate from them only what is to one's advantage. Boris Pugo, chairman of the Party Control Committee of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, a candidate for the USSR People's deputies from the Soviet Communist Party, said this at an election meeting in Kalinin, central Russia. He said that some people, while talking about democracy, lose sight of responsibility. And it is absolutely clear to every unbiased person that democracy is not an equivalent of permissiveness and irresponsibility. Democracy is unity of rights and duties. It is self-control of society based on civic maturity of soviet people, he said.

Pugo emphasised particularly questions of party membership. He said the party has given up the practice of enrolling new members by rote. So it is ever more important to work persistently to ensure that the best representatives of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia join the Soviet Communist Party. The selection into the party has not yet become fully democratic and open. Only one eighth of the number of applications for admission to the Soviet Communist Party is discussed at meetings in work collectives, whereas there are no such discussions in many district party organisations, he said. All this gives serious reason for thought.

Pugo then dwelt on some aspects of ensuring that only people of high integrity are party members. He said that even the slightest negative phenomena should not be ignored. He also said that the right of every party member to criticism is inseparable from strict observance of party discipline.

Azerbaijan's Vezirov Registered

PM0103160989 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 16 Feb 89 p 1

[AZERINFORM report under the "Election Campaign Diary" rubric: "Candidates of the People"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] An okrug election meeting in Imishlinskiy No 206 National-Territorial Electoral Okrug was held at the "Araz" Culture Complex in Imishli 14 February. Representatives of the labor collectives of Imishlinskiy, Fizulinskiy, and Zhdanovskiy Rayons which had nominated candidates and also voters who had not taken part in their nomination assembled in the hall.

The participants in the meeting discussed the candidacies of A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; D.A. Mamedov, first secretary of Fizulinskiy party raykom; and K.S. Askerov, secretary of the party organization of Zhdanovskiy Rayon's G. Asadov Kolhoz.

The candidate deputies informed the assembly about their election manifestos and answered numerous questions. [passage omitted]

D.A. Mamedov and K.S. Askerov requested the withdrawal of their candidacies, and the meeting met their request.

By a show of hands the okrug election meeting unanimously supported the candidacy of A.Kh. Vezirov and instructed the okrug electoral commission to register him as USSR candidate people's deputy for Imishlinskiy No 206 National-Territorial Electoral Okrug. [passage omitted]

Candidate Suleimenov Meets Electorate

LD0103182189 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Alma-Ata March 1 TASS—"The republic should become a rich region not in words but in actual fact," well-known Soviet poet Olzhas Suleimenov said at a meeting with his electorate here. He was registered along with two other candidates contesting one seat of the Sovetskiy territorial constituency in the city of Alma-Ata. "I'll strive for a just distribution of revenues, in part from the use of rich natural resources of Kazakhstan."

"Virtually all elements of the periodic table were discovered in Kazakhstan's entrails," Suleimenov told the gathering. "Over half of them are being mined for the good of the entire country. Additiional revenues to the republic's budget," he pointed out, "should be channeled to increase pensions, state aid to large families which are customary in Kazakhstan."

Suleimenov is concerned over the problem of underground nuclear tests at a proving ground near the Kazakh city of Semipalatinsk. "The interests of a state should not be higher than the interest of people and each individual," is the candidate's credo. "I'll seek to carry out an international examination to establish clear-cut limits to admissible discharges into the atmosphere," he said. Its results are also necessary to work out an all-union comprehensive programme for the protection of Soviet people's health. It is already high time to draft such a programme. Average life expectancy in Kazakhstan decreased from 72 to 69 years in the last decade alone.

Versatility, depth and lofty civic duty which are characteristic features of the poet's work, are reflected in his election platform. The social portrait of Suleimenov is very diverse: an active participant in the Afro-Asian writers' movement, poet, historian and expert in Turkic studies. His poems were published in France, Switzerland, Italy, India, Turkey, Lebanon, Hungary and other countries. He was awarded the state prize of the Kazakh Republic, which was transferred by him to the aid fund of the Vietnamese village of Song My.

Babenko Relieved of Ministerial Post Duties

LD0103155189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

In connection with his transfer to another job, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Babenko has been relieved of his duties as minister of construction in the eastern regions of the USSR.

Sumgait 'Tragedy' Marked in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0103125789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] The public of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have marked the anniversary of the Sumgait tragedy. At the request of workers' collectives in Stepanakert, the NKAO Special Administration Committee passed a resolution to move rest days to 27 and 28 February.

Thousands of Karabakh citizens of various ages and walks of life directed themselves from the early hours of the morning of 27 February to the monument for the victims of the tragic events, to honor the memory of the victims and to condemn all manifestations of ethnic animosity. Representatives of enterprises, establishments, and organizations in the town, from veterans to young people, and oblast [words indistinct] placed fresh flowers on the marble platform. Members of the NKAO Special Administration Committee participated in the ceremony, headed by Committee Chairman Volskiyy.

Similar ceremonies were held in the other NKAO rayons. These were organized by local party, Soviet, and Komsomol bodies. Public order was maintained everywhere. The population of the oblast behaved with profound understanding of the situation, showing a high level of civic consciousness and culture.

Politburo Commission Discusses Armenia Rebuilding

LD0103174889 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Yerevan March 1 TASS—A Politburo commission held a meeting Wednesday to discuss issues connected with the construction of houses and social facilities in the Armenian district centres of Spitak and Stepanavan, hit by an earthquake last December, as well as in the Spitak, Stepanavan and Artik districts of Armenia.

Today's meeting was chaired by deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Lev Voronin.

The commission noted that work to eliminate the earthquake's aftermath in Spitak and Stepanavan is proceeding slowly.

Both cities will be rebuilt practically anew on new areas where preparations for the construction have already been started. Much work has been done since the beginning of the year to prepare design and estimate documentation for building the cities.

It was also pointed out at the meeting that leaders of building teams from three soviet republics—Estonia, Uzbekistan and Georgia—show lack of initiative and activity.

The commission warned them about their personal responsibility for the non-fulfillment of their work.

Lithuanian Draft Constitution Published Locally

PM0203104989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent report: "Draft Constitution Published"]

[Text] Vilnius, 28 Feb—Today the local newspapers publish the draft of the Lithuanian SSR's new constitution.

This document provides for relations between the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR and the other Soviet republics to be built on the basis of the treaty on the USSR. It is planned to establish that the laws of the USSR and other acts of supreme organs of state power and management of the USSR operate on the territory of the republic unless they contradict the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and violate its sovereign rights.

The newspapers also publish the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution which states: "With a consideration for the fact that some of the articles of the draft constitution of the Lithuanian SSR do not comply with the USSR Constitution, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, taking advantage of the right of legislative initiative, will submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposals on changing the relevant articles of the USSR Constitution."

Rally in Lithuania Protests Military Service

LD0103133889 Vatican City International Service in Lithuanian 0430 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Summary] The Lithuanian Information Center in New York announced that on the 23 February, Soviet Army Day, a young people's pacifist rally took place in Kaunas. The rally was attended by about 8,000-10,000 people.

The rally was held in the Kaunas City Hall Square and was organized by the National Youth Union and Schoolchildren's Union Kaunas units supported by the local Sajudis council.

The aim of the rally was to propagate pacifist ideas and to strive to implement the articles in the Sajudis program concerning military service and its restructuring.

According to information received, militia dispersed crowds of people in Riga who gathered at the Baltic Military District protesting against compulsary service in the Soviet Armed Forces.

A resolution adopted at the rally in Kaunas said that Lithuanians serving in the Soviet Armed Forces are compelled to fight against their will in such countries as Hungary, the CSSR, and Afghanistan. A demand to abolish military training in secondary schools and higher schools was also expressed in the adopted resolution.

Lithuanian Plenum on Political, Economic Status

LD2602185189 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Report by Rima Jakutyte]

[Text] As we had already announced, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum took place yesterday in Vilnius. The population of Lithuania got detailed information about the plenum late in the evening. About 2200 Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party; Vytautas Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Vytautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Council of Ministers, made an appeal to the people of Lithuania on Vilnius television. These are the top-ranking leaders of Lithuania.

The reason for the unusual and hurredly organized television broadcast was explained by Algirdas Brazauskas, saying that especially pressing issues had been discussed at the plenary session. He said the current complex political situation in Lithuania was discussed and assessed.

Having positively assessed the events of the last summer and autumn—although these were not developing consistently but were within the framework of normal relationship between the party, the administration and the restructuring group Sajudis—Algirdas Brazauskas reminded the whole Lithuanian nation about the significant achievements that had been reached by common efforts.

Now, when we must achieve the main objective, the Lithuanian sovereignty, serious difficulties arise in the political life; polarization of public opinion, moods, and objectives occur.

The complex political situation is linked with Sajudis, the most popular public movement, its departure from adopted the program, and its growing radical character. Algirdas Brazauskas had this to say:

[Begin Brazauskas recording] During the election campaign, and especially during the celebration of 16 February—which, I would say, we rather bravely politically legalized as Lithuania's national holiday, as we announced a day off—some Sajudis publications publicized slogans and put forward proposals which, in our opinion, are by no means acceptable. Therefore, this is what we should talk about.

Let us take, for example, the slogan Independent Lithuania. These words are used very often. The word socialism has been forgotten; the word restructuring has become almost inapplicable. Sajudis was set up to promote restructuring; one of the main objectives in the first paragraph of the Sajudis' program was the acceleration of the restructuring process in society. Other words appeared, as well as possible and impossible calls to national liberation action. This is said by not only a single individual, but also by many people. The declaration adopted at the Seimas meeting in Kaunas, for example, is absolutely incomprehensible. Is this really the Sajudis' program or is it already departing from the program? We see it that way; we think it is already distancing itself from the main Sajudis program. These political aims, even political demands, in our opinion, are not acceptable.

Well, one may say that perhaps the people who use the slogan Independent Lithuania also understand. Perhaps there are people who imagine the future destiny of Lithuania in that way. However, not a single individual explained how this could be achieved. How to implement this, now when we are a part of the Soviet Union, when the administrative system, our political system is closely linked with the common political system of the whole country, when our economic potential is especially strongly linked with the recourses of raw materials in the country? Such understanding which is very much simplified and ungrounded causes great concern. [end recording]

Algirdas Brazauskas said that other public groups that have recently become especially active also add to the destabilization of the political situation. This is, first of all, the Yedinstvo movement. Categorical demands, and declarations of extreme measures, such as strikes, in protest against the law on the use of the Lithuanian language do not help to consolidate the society but incite nationality discord.

Serious reproaches were voiced to the radio, press, and television, where biased and subjective assessment has taken root and positive achievements during the postwar period are passed over in silence as well as some moments in the development of our history.

Algirdas Brazauskas stressed once again that realistic sovereignty for Lithuania is sovereignty as a part of the Soviet Union.

He also said that the current complex situation is causing interest and is being discussed by interested organs in Moscow, and that the situation today is not only complex, but it is also dangerous.

[Begin Brazauskas recording] Today it was also discussed that such a complex and unstable political situation can have very grave consequences. Most of us know very well what the system of administration is, say, in Nagorno-Karabakh, and that this is a very unusual and peculiar system. However, it does exist. Our attempts to get ahead of ourselves increasingly faster may return us to those, I should say, bleak and bad times. Instead, we should proceed consistently. Although most people criticize me, saying that maintaining such a policy of taking steps, I would call them firm steps, is unacceptable. However, not a single state, not a single nation, has won while using a policy of leaps. There has probably never been such a case in history. Therefore, we would very much like—and I make a personal appeal to all the citizens of Lithuania asking to understand correctly the documents which you are going to read in the press tomorrow and the day after tomorrow—to understand the complexity of our situation. I have a firm belief in our nation's and our people's common sense and I think that our further steps, our further aspirations will be united. [end recording]

Vytautas Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke about the nationality relations in Lithuania.

[Begin Astrauskas recording] Participants of the Central Committee plenary session voiced their great concern about the state of nationality relations. In some places these have acquired, I should say, a dangerous aspect:

Extreme statements are made, ultimate demands are placed. People of various nationalities must demonstrate great mutual understanding and efforts.

The decree adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet about the use of the Lithuanian language has also been discussed at the plenary session. This decree has not been adopted synonymously in Lithuania. However, I must say that this decree was being prepared collectively and the criticisms concerning the fact that the adopted decree differs from the published variant has no grounds, because in the course of discussions there were many corrections. Individual articles had been reformulated, and now the decree has to be accepted as it is.

I still think today that this decree is opportune and correct; it defines the use of the Lithuanian language, I underline the Lithuanian language, as a state language. There is no grounds to believe that it encroaches on the use of other lanaguages or violates the rights of people of other nationalities. No one had any evil purposes here at all.

A resolute civic assessment must be given to every case of inciting nationality discord. There are laws against the instigation of nationality discord; these are very strict laws, and these probably should be used in some extreme cases. [end recording]

Vytautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Council of Ministers, mainly concentrated on economic self-dependence as the most realistic way toward political, legal and cultural sovereignty. As is known, in conditions of partial self-dependence, Lithuania will start to live from the beginning of the next year. Vytautas Sakalauskas said that it is a pity and a regretful fact that some scientists, mainly economists, do not value this, they categoricaly stand against partial economic sovereignty, and demand absolute sovereignty apart from the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, these scientists do not indicate how this could be achieved.

Vytautas Sakalauskas said that we could not do without the economic potential of the Soviet Union. Each enterprise today is linked by hundreds of economic links with enterprises in other republics. Those economists who propose to secede from the Soviet Union and suddenly break all these ties do not think how we are going to live and where we are going to get raw materials.

[Begin Sakalauskas recording] While importing all this, as some propose, we would have to pay foreign currency. To satisfy, for example, only the demand in oil and fuel in our republic, calculating according to the world prices we would need more than 1.5 billion dollars in hard currency. At the same time the entire industry of the republic export goods abroad worth R540 million. Where would we get foreign currency? [end recording]

Vytautas Sakalauskas said that in the future, when the direct links with foreign countries have become wider, perhaps we would be richer but our goods do not meet the world standards. Therefore, to find the market will not be easy.

Those were the assessments given by the leaders of Lithuania to the republic's television viewers on the economic and political situation in the republic.

Lithuanians 'Shaken' by Political Developments

LD2802114989 Vilinius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Liutauras Radzevicius Commentary]

[Excerpts] Perhaps I will not suprise listeners by saying that the inhabitants of Lithuania were shaken by events during the last weeks. After general rejoicing came the threatening reaction on the part of non-Lithuanians concerning the decree adopted by the republican supreme soviet presidium on the use of the Lithuanian language as the state language. [passage omitted]

Work was stopped at over 25 large enterprises in Vilnius, including the Lithuanian Association of Civil Aviation, although the planes were flying. [passage omitted]

In conditions of a planned economy, as has been shown by Poland's bitter experience, several days of strikes are sufficient to push the people's economy into the pit of depression. [passage omitted]

Once again Algirdas Brazauskas proved that he is a talented politician. A long and confidential talk with Mikhail Gorbachev recently also played an important role.

Most of us understand very well that another Karabakh should not happen, not only here in Lithuania but throughout the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

A joke is doing the rounds in Moscow: Who will win: The Peoples Fronts for Restructuring in the Baltic republics or the Interfronts of non-Baltic people? The correct answer is: the Baltic Military District will win.

This joke doesn't always bring a smile. However, those who yesterday were raising maximalist slogans and demands, concerning which several warnings were made by experienced politicians, including representatives of European Parliaments, numerous Lithuanians abroad and in Lithuania, have today sunk into pessimism.

Some hotheads from Sajudis got so stirred up that while condemning the times of Stalinism and Brezhnevism they have started to blame, slander, and blacken the present republican party leadership and the Lithuanian government. Some imprudent articles have appeared in the press and some candidates for the deputies have begun to promise the electors to achieve Lithuania's independence this summer, or almost tomorrow. And all this was taking place at a time when a special CPSU Central Comittee Politburo commission was working in the republic on issues of the Baltic republics.

Somebody in the Sajudis leadership should have been found to help the Sajudis members sober up. Unfortunatley, no one came up. Realists understand that essentially nothing terrible had happened: The leader of our nation put the brakes on in time, so that the cart of Lithuanian restructuring as well as that of Gorbachev did not turn over in the twists of fate and history.

By the way, serious danger was created by the outbursts of emotions from non-Lithuanians which had been rather vigorously stirred up by the provocators from the Yedinstvo organization.

Yesterday I spoke to a scientist, Aleksandr Merkel, one of the founders of this organization. He admitted with regret that vulgar and extremist forces have now begun to dominate in the Yedinstvo leadership unceremoniously pushing the intelligentsia into the background. Appalling accusations against the Lithuanian Communist Party and against its leadership were voiced at their rallies. The slanderers started comparing the current political situation with a fascist coup. Some Communists began to threaten to leave the Lithuanian Communist Party en masse; they decided to pay party membership fees directly to Moscow. There were even more serious provocations. I would like to speak about one of these in more detail.

A party secretary of the party committee at one of the all-union drill factories telephoned the CPSU Central Committee on 17 February and threatened that on 22 February a general strike would be declared in Vilnius and in other cities of Lithuania if the decree about the use of Lithuanian as state language is not revoked—which, according to him, was discriminating. The threat was not unfounded: Five out of seven industrial enterprises in Naujoji Vilnia would have been inclined to go on strike.

The next day high-ranking officials arrived in Naujoji Vilnia: President Vytautas Astrauskas, Premier Vutautas Sakalauskas, Kestutis Zaleckas, leader of the Communists of the capital city, and even Trofimov, a plenipotentiary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo special commission. Attempts were made to stage pickets at the party committee building.

During the discussion which, by the way, lasted for 4 and ½ hours, various pressures were exerted: Attempts were made to jeer at Astrauskas and insult him. However, Sakalauskas was applauded in an attempt to squeeze some promises out of him. [sentence as heard] The representative from Moscow looked most flustered; we talked about the possibility of changing the decree although representatives from our republic refused to make such promises.

All this time the crowd was waiting in the car park for the guest from Moscow. Drunks were also arriving in groups. It was feared that riots might break out.

Well, I can say that all ended well. After the plenum and A. Brazausaks' speech on television the planned strikes in Vilnius did not take place. [passage omitted]

Political 'Crisis' for Lithuanian Party, Sajudis

PM2402092689 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Feb 89 p 11

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "People's Front and Party in Power Struggle"]

[Text] Vilnius—At the end of October last year the Communist Party and the Lithuanian People's Front, Sajudis, celebrated their "wedding" with embraces and words of love. A little over 3 months later the political situation in Lithuania is characterized by a mood of crisis.

Accusations of treachery and broken promises are being bandied about and gloomy predictions of imminent "tragedy" are being made.

It is a dramatic change of climate that has taken place. The Lithuania which only 3 months ago appeared to be the most stable of the three Baltic Soviet republics has become the most troubled.

While the People's Fronts in Estonia and Latvia have succeeded in maintaining—have been forced to maintain, some say—a dialogue with the official power apparatus of the Communist Parties in their respective republics, relations between the party and Sajudis in Lithuania have come to be dominated by confrontation and rivalry for power.

A couple of days of conversations with leading representatives of the Communist Party and of Sajudis in Vilnius show that the assessments of the seriousness of the situation are similar on both sides of the political divide. But this is almost the only point on which the party and Sajudis are agreed.

At the Central Committee's gray fortress-like headquarters on Lenin Street, Justas Paletskis, responsible within the party for ideology and propaganda, told me about a cartoon on the Soviet Union-Lithuania theme he saw in a West German paper. The cartoon shows a crowd of people rushing down a blind alley.

"But the crowd cannot see the wall at the end of the winding alley. When they reach the end and discover the wall there could be an unpleasant collision. And if I am to speak openly, I have to say that at worst there could be a tragedy."

Algimantas Chekuolis, chief editor of GIMTASIS KRASTAS and one of Sajudis' leading figures, spoke for his part of the crisis which will explode with full force if the people's expectations of a radical political and economic reform are not met.

"It would then be impossible to hold the people back," he said. "Then the people would openly demand Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union."

The confrontation between the party and Sajudis is finding concrete expression at present. In the run-up to the 26 March elections to the Moscow Supreme Soviet both sides are busy nominating their respective candidates. Lithuania has been given 42 deputies and Chekuolis said that the people's mood at the present time is such that Sajudis' candidates have a clear chance of victory in all electoral districts. He gave a few examples of the mood at some nomination meetings.

At the Communist Party's own printing works in Vilnius—a seemingly safe "party stronghold"—Lithuania's personally popular top party boss, Algirdas Brazauskas, and a young and relatively unknown Sajudis supporter, Arvydas Juozaitis, were proposed. Brazauskas received 20 votes, against 85 for Juozaitis.

At the Sigma electronics factory Brazauskas lost in a similar vote, here too against Juozaitis, and is now in a critical situation: He runs the risk of not being included in his own republic's delegation to Moscow.

Chekuolis himself was nominated in his electoral district by 163 "work collectives." He closest rival was nominated by 12 "collectives."

Another indication of the mood came 15 January when a by-election to Lithuania's local Supreme Soviet was held. Sajudis' candidates ran in four out of five electoral districts and won in three of them. One of the newly elected Sajudis deputies, nuclear power opponent Zigmas Vaisvila, won 80 percent of the votes in his fight against the local party chief, who is generally considered to be popular and pro-reform. In the fourth electoral district Sajudis chairman Vytautas Landsbergis lost the election, but he did not fight an active campaign there and ethnic Poles make up almost half the population.

The predictions for the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet in September this year are similar.

"We could win all 220 electoral districts if we wanted to," Chekuolis said, almost recklessly. "But we will try to find party people willing to accept our support. Then we can refrain from fielding our own candidates in some districts. This would after all make better political sense."

Justas Paletskis, the party's man, confirmed Sajudis' analysis of relative strengths. He said that Sajudis is being carried forward on a wave of sympathy and that the party could seem to be on the defensive.

"It is fully possible that Sajudis could win a large majority of the 220 seats in our Supreme Soviet," he said.

He said that he does not view such an election result in itself as a tragedy for the party. For one thing, many of Sajudis' leaders are themselves Communists (of the 35 members of Sajudis' Sejm or governing body, 17 are party members). For another, Sajudis itself is not a monolith.

"They claim that they represent all Lithuania," Paletskis said. "But Lithuania does not after all speak with only one voice. There are differing views, and this is only natural. If the 'realists' and the 'centrists' within Sajudis become the dominant force, it is no tragedy for the party if we do not end up in the majority."

Sajudis Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis also tried to play down the drama of the situation to a degree. He said that "it might seem as if the party is on its way to an election defeat."

"But this is not completely correct. Many people in Sajudis are party members. And people will be voting for individuals, not for or against the Communist Party."

If the party fields honorable and pro-reform candidates the battle need not be lost for the party, he said. Nor is Sajudis' task to oppose the party at any price.

"We have helped to renew the power apparatus in Lithuania," he said. "We are a moral force, and even if a political struggle is taking place at present the moral cleansing must continue, and here Sajudis has its main task."

Despite everything, Sajudis is thus trying to avoid open and "bloody" political confrontation with the party. In his office at Sajudis headquarters in Gedominas Square in central Vilnius Landsbergis has the proofs for two election posters.

One shows a full-length portrait of Stalin. On his chest are smaller portraits of Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Molotov (but not Gorbachev!) The text reads: "We have already 'voted' for these!"

"I do not want this poster," Landsbergis said. "It is too negative."

The other poster shows a unit of the new Soviet riot force, policemen in helmets with plastic shields. Behind them a young girl is holding aloft Lithuania's yellow, green, and red flag. "Sajudis—our hope" the text proclaims.

That is the message—"vague and idealistic," some say—with which Sajudis goes to the polls 26 March.

Brazauskas Addresses Conference on Language Issue

PM2802132189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "Restructuring Demands Cohesion"]

[Text] A Vilnius party and economic aktiv conference was held 14 February. It discussed the general political situation in the city and the republic, the course of the election campaign, and the reaction of a section of the city's residents in connection with the publication of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on use of the Lithuanian SSR state language.

K. Zaletskas, first secretary of the party gorkom, opened the conference with an introductory speech.

A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the conference and answered questions.

The recently published decree on use of the Lithuanian SSR state language has elicited an ambivalent reaction from the republic's inhabitants. An absolute majority has approved its guidelines affirming the status of Lithuanian as the state language. Many inhabitants who speak other languages also approve of it. However, a section of the population considers that this document is undemocratic and discriminates against the rights of inhabitants of other nationalities. This was shown by the rally held in Vilnius 12 February. Its coverage in the press elicited a protest from the organizers.

The press reported that 80,000 people participated in it. The rally organizers indicate that there were more than 100,000. Others argue that just 15,000-20,000 or even fewer gathered. Journalists are accused of being unobjective. Perhaps the absolute figures are not so important, it was emphasized at the conference. The substance of the decree and the remarks made at the rally must be explained clearly. It was emphasized that a legal act essentially governing only the use of Lithuanian and only in official life must in no way affect the functioning of other languages.

The success of restructuring, including in national relations, will largely depend on the amicability and tolerance of labor collectives and, finally, on mutual understanding. Leaders of enterprises, establishments, and organizations and secretaries of party organizations, who are obliged to see to it that hasty decisions are not adopted and, moreover, that violence is not used, bear great responsibility. On the other hand, pressure on party and soviet organs and economic leaders, including threats of certain actions, is quite intolerable.

It was emphasized at the conference that fears that Russian and Polish groups in preschool children's establishments will be cut are quite groundless. Nobody intends to do this. On the contrary, new ones may be opened if necessary. Of course, if there are fewer parents wishing to send children to kindergartens or creches, the number of groups themselves might be reduced.

In just the same way nobody intends to reduce or altogether eliminate Russian and Polish groups in VUZ's. When staffing them account was taken and will be taken both of the republic's actual needs and of the population's ethnic composition. Subsequently, when there are more Lithuanian-speaking young people, there will obviously be less need for such groups. But this is an issue for the future, it was emphasized at the conference.

At the conference attention was drawn to the fact that an insignificant number of hours is allocated to the Lithuanian language in Russian and Polish schools. The Ministry of Public Education was instructed to revise the programs for this subject and to find a possibility of increasing the number of lessons.

At the conference serious rebukes were leveled at the text of the decree translated into Russian. Its inaccuracies will be corrected. At the same time it was explained that part 4 of the decree, which points out that republican events are held in Lithuanian, does not in fact apply to all events held in the republic but only to events on a republic scale (congresses, sessions, plenums). The language used at meetings of labor collectives and party, trade union, Komsomol, and other organizations and at other events will be decided by the participants themselves. Of course, translation into any language is desirable so that people can express their thoughts more freely and clearly. The organizers of events must see to this, and party, soviet, and economic organs must help them.

Incidentally, most confusion arises in the sphere of official business. Paragraph 2 of the decree points out that "enterprises, establishments, and organizations in which internal official business was hitherto transacted in Russian will switch to official business and correspondence in Lithuanian within 2 years of this decree entering into force." It was explained that this requirement applies only to internal official business, such as issuing orders and instructions, filling out personal files or other documents, and disseminating public information. There is, of course, no sense in applying this in technological, design, or other documentation or anywhere that production processes are concerned. Leaders of enterprises, establishments, and organizations and of their labor collectives are instructed to determine in the very near future ways and means of implementing the decree with due regard to specific local conditions.

At the same time it is pointed out that good conditions for the study of Lithuanian must be created in enterprises, establishments, and organizations. They are recommended to cover the expenses associated with this. At the same time it is pointed out that a textbook has already been published for students of Lithuanian, and dictionaries and other necessary literature will soon appear.

A Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers resolution governing in detail the decree's application in all spheres of life and discussing problems of material backup and other practical questions will be published in the press in the very near future.

Concerns Over Lithuanian Language Law Addressed

PM0103184989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 18 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Ensuring Cohesion and Mutual Trust"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It would be wrong to reduce national rebirth in Lithuania merely to the Lithuanian nation's desire to rediscover the undeservedly forgotten values of their culture, native language, and customs. The many Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Jews, Tatars, Karaims, and Letts living in the republic have enriched the cultural, scientific, and production spheres with their talent and labor and have joined in the republic's social life. They are turning to their roots and traditions increasingly often.

I think that it is now very important for everyone to refrain from emotional but unreasoning and heedless remarks and various slogans that of themselves sow mistrust between people. Thus sometimes an ill-intentioned person can even spread fabrications. For instance, some people suddenly began to claim that the decree [on the use of the Lithuanian language] prohibits them from speaking their native language. But this is a misunderstanding. The document does not and indeed could not contain such a prohibition. That is one of the basic constitutional principles of the status of the individual. The decree does not restrict, still less remove, the rights of the Russian-speaking or any other population to use its own language. It merely creates the conditions to ensure that a Lithuanian in his own republic can receive an answer in Lithuanian in all institutions, in public health, trade, and consumer service organizations, and on transportation.

It is no secret that various misunderstandings and even conflicts have been emerging of late in relation to the use of languages. Some people, including both Lithuanians and Russians, ostentatiously refuse to communicate in another language, although they know it, and insult one another. This kind of behavior is immoral, for it debases human dignity. It must be condemned and rebuffed by all decent people everywhere.

It should be noted that the decree did indeed make more serious demands regarding knowledge of Lithuanian on the leaders of organs of state power, and also enterprises, institutions, and organizations, especially those involved in services to the population. That is not a new injunction. Back in 1941, and later in 1944, Lithuanian SSR government resolutions were adopted which obliged "all persons coming to work in the Lithuanian SSR to learn Lithuanian." Language study courses were organized for this purpose and state funds were allocated. Unfortunately, by no means everyone complied with these demands, and the question was later removed from the agenda altogether.

In my view, this demand is natural. Knowledge of the language can only help a leader in his work.

There is no need to worry about whether it will be possible in 2 years to switch to transacting official business in Lithuanian in places where this has not hitherto been done. First, the period can be extended for valid reasons. And, second, the demand to switch to transacting official business in Lithuanian in no way means that all personnel will have to know Lithuanian within 2 years. (This is a claim which is particularly used to scare people at rallies.) The provision in question of the decree only requires that a person can see and obtain documents, orders, instructions, announcements, and so forth in his native language. Technical documents (concerning, for instance, construction, reconstruction, repairs, equipment, and so forth) can be prepared both in Lithuanian and in Russian.

Of course, it is necessary to take a practical view of the problem and, wherever possible, to ensure right now that organizations and citizens can conduct business in Lithuanian. In other words, leading personnel, personnel departments, social organizations, bookkeeping offices, and other offices must include people who know Lithuanian.

There is a particularly large number of complaints that the decree infringes the constitutional right of citizens with insufficient knowledge of Lithuanian to receive secondary, secondary specialized, and higher education. It is impossible to agree with such claims, they are unfounded. The decree obliges the state to create for the republic's non-Lithuanian-speaking population, if it so wishes, "suitable conditions to organize children's preschool institutions, lessons, and general education schools, to train staff and teachers for them, to publish native-language books and newspapers, and to create language and culture societies, clubs, museums, theaters, and troupes."

These demands of the decree are not merely fine intentions. At present 110 schools with tuition in Russian operate in Lithuania, teaching in 43 schools is in Polish, and in 69 schools children are taught in several languages. Overall, more than 80,000 pupils are now receiving secondary education in Russian in the republic and almost 10,000 in Polish. That is about 18 percent of students in the republic. In particular, the main report at the recent first conference of the Vilnius branch of the Polish Cultural Society in Lithuania objectively said that, out of the more than 1 million Poles living in the USSR, those living in our republic enjoy the most favorable conditions in the education sphere.

It is hardly possible to speak seriously of any infringement of the right of non-Lithuanians to receive secondary specialized or higher education in the republic. No restrictions on grounds of nationality or on any other grounds have been imposed or are being imposed in Lithuania. There will continue to be no such restrictions. Almost 8,000 students are currently studying in Russian in 9 VUZ's. Almost as many young people are receiving secondary specialized education in Russian groups. Some specialities in both VUZ's and technical colleges can be studied in Polish too.

It is hard to say what intentions motivate certain speakers to distort the decree and arouse sentiments that are not conducive to our common goals.

It would also be fair to take into account the fact that Lithuania's VUZ's train specialists not in general, but essentially only for our republic, so it is natural for the state language to predominate in them. As many people as are needed for Lithuania's national economy study in the Russian groups. The decree does not close these groups. Under the decree, the conditions for serious study of the Lithuanian language are being created precisely in order to ensure that the non-Lithuanian-speaking population participates actively in the republic's state, social, and cultural life, precisely for all residents.

Showing concern for implementing the status of the state language, we must ensure a considerable expansion and improvement of the system of teaching Lithuanian, especially as there are still many omissions here.

There is a shortage of Lithuanian language textbooks prepared for work in non-Lithuanian schools. Understandably, there is still a shortage of textbooks, dictionaries, phrasebooks, and other study aids.

Much is now being done in this sphere. The number of Lithuanian language lessons in non-Lithuanian schools is increasing. More courses for adults are being organized. New textbooks for teaching Lithuanian will appear shortly. Their preparation is now being completed. A new edition of the Lithuanian language textbook, a Lithuanian-Russian dictionary, a Russian-Lithuanian phrasebook, and a handbook on Lithuanian spelling and punctuation will be published in the very near future. At the same time the relevant publishing houses must expedite the publication of a Lithuanian language textbook designed for individual study, small-format Lithuanian, Russian, and Polish dictionaries, and various economic, technical, and social and cultural dictionaries. In short, the study of Lithuanian must be interesting and accessible for everyone. A relevant resolution of the republic's Council of Ministers will be adopted in a few days and will outline specific measures to put the decree on the state language into practice.

Of course, this is not just the work of a few days. So maximalist demands, ultimatums, and disorientation of the public are all the more unacceptable here. "Malice," so Lenin wrote, "generally plays in politics usually the worst role." We must never forget those words! Extreme methods are not the means whereby we will enrich democracy, and we will not accelerate the pace of restructuring by inflaming mutual mistrust.

All the problems, and many of them are complex, require unanimity and the conscious and responsible participation of people of different nationalities in this important matter. Every resident of the republic must now get in the mood for such work.

'State Sovereignty' Urged at Lithuanian Session

PM2802150789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 17 Feb 89 p 4

[ELTA report: "This Is Our Land and Our Native Home"]

[Excerpts] An extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sejm was held in the Kaunas State Musical Theater 15 February. It was timed to coincide with the anniversary of 16 February, the day of the Lithuanian state's rebirth.

...The entire audience sang the song "Beloved Lithuania" by Ch. Sasnauskas. Lithuanian SSR Honored Artist Viktoras Valashinas read out the Act of Lithuanian Independence dated 16 February 1918. The audience broke into song again—"We Are Born Lithuanians." Lithuanian SSR People's Artist Ruta Stalilyunayte read out to the audience poems about Lithuania, about the sacrifices made by its sons and daughters at the crossroads of history. Lithuania's national anthem was performed. The participants in the session laid a wreath at the spot in Theater Square where Romas Kalanta burned himself to death in 1972.

Yurgis Oksas, scientific associate of the Institute for Planning the Restoration of Monuments, Kaunas Branch, and member of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sejm, was the first to speak. He spoke of the Lithuanian people's struggle for independence and statehood in different periods of history. [passage omitted]

Cheslovas Stankyavichyus, chief engineer of the Kaunas Institute for Urban Development Planning, member of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sejm, and chairman of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Kaunas Council, speaking about the path of the people's political independence and economic autonomy, emphasized the need to be aware of its direction and length. The chosen goal may be attained if it is approached in a considered manner, with a clear idea of the long-term prospects. One important step has already been taken—the proclamation of Lithuanian as the state language. One of the next goals is to create a model democratic state. [passage omitted]

Professor Alfredas Smaylis of the Kaunas Medical Institute, member of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sejm, spoke about the problems of national self-determination by peoples in the world and about Lithuania's position in the community of European peoples. He noted that, despite some people's opinions, the Lithuanian people are capable of running their own economy and building their own life.

Kazimeras Antanavichyus, department leader at the Academy of Sciences Economics Institute and member of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sejm, devoted his speech to economic problems. He proposed the drafting of a package of economic laws with clear definitions of the ideas of ownership, autonomy of industrial enterprises and agriculture, and other questions.

Antanas Terletskas outlined the program of the Lithuanian Freedom League.

"Once a people has lost its statehood it will never rest until it has been regained," Arvidas Yuozaytis, scientific associate of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy, Sociology, and Law Institute and member of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sejm, emphasized. "The proclamation of the concept of economic autonomy, the national schools, and the restoration of the Olympic Committee represent the first real steps toward a sovereign state. We must enshrine these and other practical projects in the Constitution." [passage omitted]

Raymondas Bartusyavichyus, tour guide from the Kaunas Travel and Excursions Bureau, spoke about the possibilities [vozmozhnostyakh] of Lithuania's secession from the USSR and analyzed the possible consequences of such an act. [passage omitted]

Brothers Emanuelis Zingeris, lecturer at the Vilnius University Kaunas Evening Faculty and member of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sejm, and Markas Zingeris, a journalist in Kaunas, spoke against the activity of "Yedinstvo," saying that people of different nationalities have lived well together in Lithuania for a long time now. The recently created societies for Russian, Belorussian, Jewish, Tatar, and Karaim culture have all joined in the great cause of Lithuania's renewal. This process will require determination and energy, and the long and arduous path can be traveled only in accord. These ideas were also backed by Tatar community representative Aldas Yakubauskas.

Vilnius architect Arturas Skuchas spoke in favor of a variety of parties and movements and pluralism of opinions. [passage omitted]

Those present observed a 1-minute silence to honor the memory of those who have fallen for Lithuania's freedom.

The session's three sittings lasted through 2 am. A declaration was adopted in conclusion, emphasizing that the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring expresses the people's determination to restore their rights by peaceful means and to live independently of any diktat. Its aims are Lithuania's juridical, political, economic, and cultural autonomy and its state sovereignty, without limiting itself to partial achievements. The goal of "Sayudis" is to struggle against decline and degeneration, to lay new foundations for Lithuania's prosperity, to create conditions for free and democratic self-determination. The declaration enshrines the universal right of Lithuania's citizens to independently choose and develop the forms of their state life.

Complaints Over Lithuanian Holiday Reported

PM2802115789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by A. Gelbakh: "Displaying Restraint and Understanding"]

[Text] Telephones are ringing in the editorial office. Angry voices are saying: "We do not recognize the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree declaring 16 February—the day of the restoration of the Lithuanian state—a national holiday! We do not agree with the resolution of the republic's council of ministers on moving the holiday from Saturday 11 February to Thursday 16 February! We will not work and do not want to work on Saturday. But on the 16th we will work without fail!"

What can you say here? Today there is complete pluralism of opinions outside. One person speaks "for the entire people" while another considers he has the right to present his desire as the wish of a collective of many thousands. Not everyone has the same attitude toward the date of 16 February 1918. Especially since everyone can remember how keenly the authorities were opposed to its celebration last year.

But we must understand absolutely clearly that this date has indeed been inscribed in the difficult history of the Lithuanian people's struggle for self determination, the history of the development of their statehood. It was on this day that for the first time in long, long years the republic's independence was proclaimed, independence from the oppression which tsarist Russia brought to Lithuanian land. We must realize that if the people who have telephoned to the editorial office are internationalists in reality and not just verbally, then they should accept this holiday of the Lithuanian people as their own.

The proclamation of independence and the resurrection of statehood were incomplete at the time—the republic was occupied by German troops. And more time was needed for the real day of resurrection to come. But the act of proclamation of independence was a step toward it. The republic's real statehood was restored with Soviet Russia's recognition of Lithuania's independence.

Today, when we are building a rule-of-law state, when we are speaking of the development of democracy, it would be thoughtless, to put it mildly, not to recognize that the Decree embodied the will of the majority of the Lithuanian people. That is why, addressing its readers, the SOVETSKAYA LITVA editorial office urges them to display restraint and an understanding of events, to show not heated and often unjustified emotions but respect for the decision taken by the republic's supreme organ of power.

More tolerance, more desire to hear and listen to each other—only this approach leads to the consolidation of the efforts of all working people in restructuring.

Lithuanian Officials Questioned on 'Political Day'

PM2802111589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Does It Interest You? Let's Investigate; Replies to Questions at Integrated Political Day Meetings"]

[Excerpts] The recent republican integrated political day was attended by leading workers of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the republic's council of ministers, and ministries and departments. The keynote speakers were asked questions about urgent problems of the republic's political and socioeconomic life. We publish the replies to some questions put at the political day.

[Question] What is the meaning of the concept of "the republic's real sovereignty?"

[Answer] Our republic's political, economic, and cultural sovereignty is being discussed in many auditoriums now. The concept of economic sovereignty has been elaborated and is being improved. It is a case of the republic's sovereignty within the USSR federation. That is why real sovereignty must be substantiated by treaties between republican and union central organization, by treaties which would be acceptable to both sides.

[Question] Is there an official assessment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact?

[Answer] This treaty was given an official assessment in the report delivered by A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, at the 16 December 1988 ceremonial session to mark the 70th anniversary of the creation of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the proclamation of Soviet power in Lithuania. "The 23 August and 28 September 1939 treaties signed by representatives of the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany showed that the leadership of the two countries viewed international relations through the prism of force and considered Lithuania an object of barter. Moreover, as the further course of events showed, these treaties created a real basis for Stalin and his entourage to bring pressure to bear on the government of the Lithuanian public and for them to impose their will on it."

[Question] Is glasnost not being replaced by semiglasnost at the present stage? Where are the boundaries of glasnost, are they not determined by censorship?

[Answer] Glasnost has no boundaries. Nevertheless, every state has its own military and economic secrets, and they are kept from publication. In our country the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press performs this function. Its work still lacks glasnost. This is reflected in the resolution "On Censorship" of the recent congress of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists Union.

[Question] How is the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee implementing the leadership of the press, television, and radio, and has party influence on the mass media not weakened?

[Answer] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee rejects directive methods of leadership of the mass media, but that does not mean that party influence on the press has weakened. The republic's main newspapers are organs of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, which determines their links with the Central Committee. It should not be forgotten that today party journalism is becoming an autonomous part of party work. This is causing the emergence of various periodical publications and different opinions.

The Central Committee leads the mass media through their leaders by selecting and installing editors. Working independently and guided by party policy documents, the editors take an active part in the activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee—they take part in bureau sessions and plenums and conferences of editors are held. That increases their degree of information and professional competence and makes it possible to look deeply into the party's current and long-term business and to assess it more objectively in the press.

On the other hand, one-sidedness and skepticism in assessing the past have been making themselves felt increasingly in the mass media lately and there are instances of factual errors and opinions are not adequately compared. All this prevents an objective assessment of a particular fact or phenomenon.

The further activation of our society's political, social, and national resurrection is one of the party's most important goals for today. The mass media are also helping in its implementation.

[Question] If 16 February has been declared a national holiday and a nonworking day, why do we have to work Saturday 11 February for this day?

[Answer] There is a unified system of state holidays in the country and the number of working days for the year is established by union acts. To introduce an additional holiday it was necessary to legalize this in advance within the established procedure, which was not done. That is why it was decided to work 16 February this year on another day, that is 11 February.

[Question] I have heard that the society of free thinkers will be restored. What are its aims?

[Answer] In 1924-1941 a society of ethical standards for free thinkers operated in Lithuania, uniting people critical of religion. The society's members advocated freedom of conscience, the civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages, organized lectures, and published books and the newspaper SVOBODNAYA MYSL. After the war it was forbidden to restore this "bourgeois atheist" organization.

Recently some mass media have begun to ignore materialist atheistic thinking. That is why people who adhere to materialist views, Communists and nonparty people, intellectuals and workers, men and women have begun to rally into free thinking clubs. These clubs and groups will evidently join into the Lithuanian society of free thinking and continue the justified practice of rallying free thinkers into a single society in the prewar years and the postwar atheists. By rallying the supporters of a materialist world outlook, free thinkers, and atheists, the society will be able to render them assistance in deepening their knowledge of the study of religion and atheism. Disseminating materialist views, the society will also conduct dialogue between believers and atheists.

The experience of the clubs which are being created shows that their members intend to adhere to the principles of social justice, humanism, moral staunchness, tolerance, and at the same time principledness in world outlook.

Incidentally, the idea of restoring (creating) the abovementioned society was born not in the center but in various parts of the republic, almost simultaneously. [passage omitted]

[Question] What's new in the A. Sakalauskas case?

[Answer] The republic's public has detailed information about the incident in the special rail car for transporting convicts and also of the reasons which prompted A. Sakalauskas to use his weapon.

Right now the criminal case involving the death of the servicemen is being investigated by the garrison's Leningrad military prosecutor's office. By a decision of the investigator A. Sakalauskas has been scheduled for another criminal psychiatric experts' report at Moscow's Serbskiy Institute of Psychiatry. An expert psychiatrist from our republic has been asked to take part in the experts' report.

A. Sakalauskas' rights during the preliminary investigation are being defended by legal consultant I. Aleksandravichyus from Vilnius. There are no grounds for thinking that A. Sakalauskas will be unfairly treated or dealt with.

The presidium of the republic's supreme soviet has appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, conveying public concern for A. Sakalauskas' fate.

There are no legal grounds for raising the question of the formation of a government commission to investigate A. Sakalauskas' case. Under existing USSR legislation the preliminary investigation into cases of crimes committed by servicemen is carried out by the military prosecutor's office and only the material it has gathered can serve as the basis for the case's hearing in court. [passage omitted]

[Question] How is it planned to implement the concept of Lithuania's economic independence?

[Answer] It is planned to gradually create a system of economic management based on commodity-money relations and economic methods of management. At the first stage it is planned to restructure the administration of the republic's economic and social spheres proceeding from the principles of self management and cost recovery prepared by the USSR Government commission which has included representatives of Lithuania. (This was described in detail in the interview with V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, published in the newspaper TIESA 18 January this year). It is planned that the republic will be given the right to manage the economy far more independently even at the first stage and that the first stage be begun not in 1991, as the majority of republics want, but in 1990.

It goes without saying that at this stage the republic will not yet acquire the economic independence envisaged by the concept. But this will undoubtedly be an important step in this direction making it possible not only to organize independently the entire social sphere, the production infrastructure, and about 60-70 percent of industry and resolve many other questions, but also to test new methods of management in practice. This will demonstrate our ability to work effectively and manage the economy under new conditions. To study individual problems of managing the republic, the cities and rayons have created seven groups of specialists and specific questions are being analyzed by scientists from the Academy of Scientists Economy Institute and the VUZ's.

A difficult struggle between the old and the new lies ahead. It is unrealistic to think that the union ministries and republics will voluntarily renounce their diktat, even in the event of instructions at the top level. Questions of material and technical supply and the establishment of direct economic ties between enterprises will obviously become a serious problem since at present the republic's economy is closely linked with the economies of other regions of the country not only by economic but also essentially by administrative edict ties.

The first stage should prepare the ground for further activity in the direction of complex economic independence in accordance with the concept prepared in the republic.

Another question which is often asked is what can be expected from economic independence and what can it give man? Everything will depend on the ability to manage the economy and the creation of the conditions for this. The main condition is real economic accountability [khozraschet] for enterprises, organizations in the production sphere, and farms and independence unrestrained by excessive administration.

Naturally, people want to rapidly acquire good-quality goods, apartments, health care, and education which meet their requirements, a clear ecological environment, and so forth. Some people think that in implementing the ideas of economic independence there will be a drastic improvement in the living standard and the problems which have accumulated over decades will be automatically resolved. Yes, that is precisely why a struggle is being waged for the republic's economic independence, but we should not nurture unrealistic illusions. Persistent work lies ahead using the pooled efforts of the entire people, work which will take many years. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Party Meeting Concerned About Secession

PM2802131989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "Cohesion and Responsibility for the Sake of Restructuring. Conference at Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference of party gorkom and raykom first secretaries and leaders of the republic's ministries and departments was held at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 11 February.

The opening speech was delivered by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. He familiarized those present with the comments and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission which studied the processes taking place in the Baltic republics.

The most topical political and economic issues for the republic in the process of radically restructuring all spheres of our life and activity were discussed. Great attention was devoted to preparations for the election of deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the coming 16 February national holiday. The problems of preparing the new Lithuanian SSR Constitution, the use of a state language, and the further improvement of party organizational and ideological work were examined.

Concern was expressed about the increasingly prevalent irresponsible and sometimes even extremist statements about the imaginary prospects for seceding from the USSR, and the provocative attacks by various informal groupings and some of their leaders against party and government leaders. The republic's mass media do not always refute slanderous fabrications and malicious rumors in a prompt and proper fashion.

The conference participants actively exchanged opinions and put forward specific proposals about how to further improve the republic's economic mechanism, to develop democracy, to strengthen party and labor discipline, and to enhance personal responsibility for given areas of work.

Scholar Views Lithuania's 'National Revival'

PM2702124189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Matuolis under the rubric "My Opinion": "On Position, Candle, and Words"; final paragraph is editorial comment]

[Text] It is curious to note that every writer is sincerely convinced that he is the one who is right. Here the authors seem to want to assert and legitimize their own idea and put it into operation. But, as the French say, "The law laughs at what we think." A very profound idea. After all, our thoughts are often a weak link in our perception of the real world of things. This was precisely the thought to which I was led by some of the items published in SOVETSKAYA LITVA in December 1988.

It is on the basis of their example that I should like to consider what our free thoughts promise, what they are based on, and how the principle of the new thinking, about which so much is being talked now, is being implemented.

Author A. Verzhakovskiy ("Precision of Positions is Needed") writes about the military-patriotic training of schoolchildren, primarily girls, whom some people are urging not to take part in lessons, and at the same time about the discussion of the draft changes and additions to the USSR Constitution, and ends the above-mentioned item with the words: "Forgive me for the confusion, but I think there's been enough waiting."

What can be said about the questions discussed? First, that no psychological reaction arises without causes. After all, in speaking about military training, it would probably be worth thinking about how this science for girls is a kind of insult to women, who are brought down to the level of equality with men. Here children probably protest. It is perfectly possible that they stick bad slogans to the walls, but they can be forgiven, yet they must nonetheless be given the opportunity to express themselves and not allowed to believe that their viewpoint is unacceptable.

The author of the above-mentioned article is depressed by the course of military-patriotic education and he is angry at the passiveness of the local authorities and the fact that some inspector from a rayon fights in his article for the young men of the Lithuanian SSR to serve on the republic's territory.

But it seems to me that this inspector was arguing very correctly and that the item's author should have tried to understand the thrust of the proposal and imagine that it is possible to think differently.

Here is what military airman Lieutenant Colonel V. Eydukaytis writes on this subject: "Can a young man not fulfill his constitutional duty in his own military district?" (KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA [name as published] 15 September 1988). The question of national military formations is raised in the article "What Has Happened to our Army?" [KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA 3 November 1988) and in the article by former airborne assault force member I. Milashevichyus (GIMTASIS KRASHTAS [name as published] No 33, 1988) and in many others which simply cannot be listed here. I can add personally that the disbanding of the 16th Lithuanian division and other national formations is a shameful act constituting a national insult. The result is that when the USSR was in danger during the war it was possible to appeal to sacred national feelings and use them. I served in the 16th Lithuanian division, which won glory in the fighting, and I believe that its dissolution was the greatest insult to the men who fell on the fronts of the war under that division's flag.

Every serviceman knows that only unworthy military units which have disgraced themselves or lost their flag are dissolved! It is painful to look at a parade on Red Square in Moscow, when military units and formations which distinguished themselves on the fronts are particularly singled out. The presenter says that the heroic Taman division is marching past... but where is the 16th Lithuanian division, the Latvian division, and others?

And about the collection of signatures. Indeed, in approximately a week "Sajudis" collected over 1.8 million signatures, which demonstrated its efficiency, activeness, and authority. I shall say that I personally was asked to sign some appeal or other, but not the "Sajudis" one. I read it and did not agree with the text and did not sign it. A. Verzhakovskiy's claim that some people found it awkward not to sign attests merely to the fact of those people's personal lack of will and lack of "precision in this position" and it is against these phenomena that we should struggle.

Of course, exaggerations are possible in this action of collecting signatures, but there were no acts of direct violence.

In another article, "Let's Light the Candle of Reason," the author, R. Samokhvalov, suggests lighting the candle of reason. The beginning of the item is simply a poetic narrative. The light of the candle leads the author to exalted thoughts about the Lithuanian people. "What memory will we leave behind?" he exclaims, accusing the "Sajudis" members of subversive actions. But the question immediately arises: Who is this "we?"

With regards to the delayed-action mine which "Sajudis" is allegedly laying, I think it wants in fact to remove the delayed-action mine placed on Lithuanian territory by Stalin's bone setters [kostopravy] and the apologists of Brezhnev's times.

It must be repeated that Lithuania had never known genocide like that which Stalinism brought with it to this peaceful region, reinforcing its dirty deeds with the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact.

In my view our (yes, our) esteemed first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has the right to use that meaningful word "we" when he addresses the inhabitants of Lithuania. The members of the sejm are also allowed to say "we" on my behalf, for instance. After all, "Sajudis" is nothing other than "we," the republic's indigenous inhabitants of various ethnic groups and beliefs.

Both the above-mentioned items, it seems to me, call us backward, since they do not urge peoples of different ethnic groups to display mutual understanding and cohesion.

Although the discussions in the press on the status of the Lithuanian language have already ended, this problem nonetheless remains topical for many people. That is why it is expedient to turn to the item "Let's Display More than Verbal Concern" by the esteemed L. Isayeva and V. Isayev, which examines specific problems relating to textbooks for the study of the Lithuanian language. Indeed, the matter is in a very bad way and should be studied in earnest.

As for the decision that in addition to secondary schools, teaching in other educational establishments should be only in Lithuanian, it is entirely right. Naturally, that is how it should be, after all the Lithuanian language is the state language on Lithuanian territory.

I want to cite two characteristic examples.

In the fifties and sixties because of the shortage of well trained Russian language teachers and the feeble methodological basis, the graduates of Lithuanian secondary schools had a very poor knowledge of the Russian language and nonetheless entered and successfully studied at various educational establishments in Moscow and other cities. The level of Lithuanians' knowledge of the Russian language at the time could perfectly well be compared with the level of knowledge of the Lithuanian language displayed by the graduates of Russian schools in Lithuania now. It was under these conditions that I personally entered the Moscow military engineering school, where admissions conditions were very tough. It turned out that I had an adequate vocabulary to take examinations in a foreign language, mathematics, physics, and other subjects. And by the end of my first year of study I had begun to have a good understanding of the disciplines which were being taught. Surely teaching in Lithuanian in VUZ's will not be an insurmountable difficulty for those who speak a different language?

I add that right now it helps to have a good knowledge of Polish and English. As for the study of the Polish language, in Lithuania it is simply essential for both Lithuanians and Russians to know it. Especially as it must be noted with bitterness that a large quantity of the literature published in Russian during the so-called stagnation period is hopelessly vacuous or written in allegorical language, which caused the Russian language to become more impoverished than ever before, something about which the Russians themselves write a great deal. Devastating censorship did its dirty work. On the other hand, in Polish there is something to read in the field of popular and scientific literature. Of course, glasnost is doing its job and the ice has broken. It remains only to wish the Russian-speaking population of Lithuania their own genuine national revival in both language and culture, the revival whose life-giving wind is soaring over Lithuania on the wings of "Sajudis." May you have successes in studying Lithuanian and may you have sincere assistance!

From the editorial office: In publishing this item the editorial office considers it necessary to point out that it does not agree with all the article's premises. However, considering that socialist pluralism implies the right to different viewpoints, we consider this item can be published.

'Stormy Debates' in Latvia on Language Issue

LD0103143389 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Riga March 1 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Iliya Plotke: The draft law on language, issued here for public discussion, has given rise to stormy debates in the press, on television and in the workers' collectives in Latvia. Such a law is to delegate the use of Latvian as the official language in this Soviet republic where indigenous Latvians constitute about half of the population.

The language problem in the republic manifested itself in recent decades when Latvian in the offices of state institutions and enterprises began to be gradually edged out by Russian. This resulted in diminishing the functions of the Latvian language. A proportion of Russian-speaking population—and this means members of dozens of nationalities—lost the incentives and the need to study the language of the indigenous people, an overwhelming majority of whom know Russian. The situation was also aggravated by the poor orgnaisation of the teaching of the national language in Russian-language schools and other educational establishments.

"There was a perceived danger among the Latvian population questioning the future existence and further development of their language and culture", Aina Blinkena, Dr. of Science (Philology), who chairs the commission for the elaboration of the draft law, told TASS.

"It was the Letts' demand that the status of and a draft law on the language have been elaborated. The draft law envisages a switch-over of all office work in the republic to Latvian, the obligatory knowledge of Latvian by all officials, the use of Latvian in the service sector as well as the creation of opportunities for all sections of the Russian-speaking population to study it".

Nevertheless, an opinion is expressed that the draft law is "too soft" and does not guarantee the equality of languages. Others regard the document as infringing upon rights of Russian speakers, although their opponenets perceive the language equality element in the draft law provision as guaranteeing every citizen the right to choose the language for contacts with state and other bodies and for use in the service sector. Organisations and institutions are obliged to give oral or written replies to all inquiries in the chosen language.

Some in the republic believe that the draft law needs to be developed further. They suggest that two languages be recognized as being of equal value in all sectors, including office-work, especially in areas with predominantly non-lettish population.

The members of such a mass Latvian organisation as the Interfront demand that the status of an official language be granted both to Latvian and Russian and that a referendum on the issue be held.

Many in Latvia regard as positive the fact that many directors of enterprises and various work collectives have already begun to set up course and groups for the study of Latvian

Latvian 'Interfront' Movement Publishes Documents

Declaration Published 16 Feb

PM2802122589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 16 Feb 89 pp 2-3

["Declaration of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR Adopted at the Interfront's Constituent Congress 8 January 1989"]

[Excerpts] Socialism has inexhaustible potential for development because it is founded on social ownership of the means of production, the universality of labor, the equality of rights of all citizens, justice, and humanism. Under the conditions that took shape during the period of Stalinism and stagnation an administrative-bureaucratic model of socialism was formed which was characterized by the combination of the functions of party and state, exaggeration of the role of the executive apparatus in administration, restriction of the individual's rights, monopoly of the state form of ownership, departmental diktat and incompetence, a relatively low living standard for working people, and the violation of socialist legality.

The transformations begun by the CPSU in the political sphere and the development of democracy and glasnost have weakened the system of administration by decree and aroused considerable sociopolitical activeness in the people. The interests of various social and ethnic groups have been revealed and have begun to freely manifest themselves, along with their desire to become involved in restructuring. This has provoked the emergence of various social and sociopolitical organizations.

I. General Principles

1. The International Front of the Latvian SSR (Interfront) is a voluntary public organization created at working people's initiative for the purpose of enlisting the active participation of the republic's inhabitants in implementing and deepening restructuring, an organization which unites in its ranks workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, students and pupils, and the nonworking section of the population irrespective of nationality or race, party membership, or religious convictions.

2. Interfront recognizes the leading role of the CPSU in society, deems the party the political center of restructuring, acts independently and democratically in accordance with the USSR Constitution and laws, the Latvian SSR Constitution and laws, and the Interfront Declaration and Statutes, and cooperates with party and state organs, labor collective councils, social and sociopolitical organizations, and various societies having aims and tasks in common with Interfront.

3. Interfront advocates active participation by all the republic's healthy forces in solving the acute problems of the economy, social sphere, and interethnic relations.

4. Interfront will strive to develop national consciousness, ensure equality of rights, and defend the interests of all the republic's nations and ethnic groups; it will combat manifestations of bureaucratism, Stalinism, chauvinism, and nationalism and will strive to stabilize the political situation in our common home.

II. Democratization of Society

1. Interfront acknowledges the need for fundamentally new social relations within the republic aimed at creating conditions for the free development and self-expression of every individual, family, individual nations and ethnic groups, and society as a whole; it urges the republic's citizens to base their relations on mutual respect and cooperation;

2. Interfront supports the real reform of the political system proposed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the separation of the functions of party and state, the return of real power to the soviets, and legal reform;

3. Interfront advocates ensuring the political and socioeconomic interests of the Latvian SSR within the USSR, general equitable elections of deputies to soviets of all levels, the creation of a bicameral Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet to represent and defend the interests of all nations and ethnic groups in the republic's supreme organ of state power, open competition among candidate deputies, and glasnost in the course of elections; it takes an active part in election campaigns and offers assistance in deputies' fulfillment of their election programs and voters' instructions; it provides support for worthy candidate deputies to all elective organs from the CPSU, sociopolitical and social organizations, and labor collectives;

4. Interfront advocates the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state in which all citizens have the opportunity to participate directly in the discussion of draft laws and other normative acts; it advocates the formulation of a Statute on holding nationwide referendums;

5. Interfront believes that a court must be truly independent and be guided in its activity solely by the law, that a court with an enlarged collegium of people's assessors should be created, and that supreme supervision of the precise, uniform execution and application of the laws should be carried out by the USSR general prosecutor, and on the territory of the Latvian SSR—appointed by and subordinate to him—by the Latvian SSR prosecutor. It supports the idea of creating a Constitutional Committee (Court) of the republic.

6. Interfront advocates assigning investigations to an independent body, the right of citizens to appeal to the courts against unlawful decisions by officials and collegial bodies, the improvement of laws on the detention and arrest of citizens, the possibility of attorney participation in an investigation from the moment criminal proceedings are instituted against a citizen, and the right to judicial appeal against detention or arrest;

7. Interfront advocates complete glasnost in state and public life and the need to provide the republic's population with regular political, ecological, demographic, medical, sociological, and other types of information via the press, radio, and television. It considers that truly socialist democracy can only be ensured by socialist pluralism of opinion.

It advocates glasnost in the work of law-enforcement organs and the Soviet Army and Navy and the need to adopt a law on state secrets.

It will support law-enforcement organs in combating ethnically motivated violations of the law, corruption, bribery, the squandering of public property, speculation, alcoholism, drug addiction, and prostitution.

All public organizations, including Interfront, must be given access to the mass media to express their views;

8. Interfront supports the process of democratizing trade unions and deems their main task to be the defense of working people's rights and interests, labor protection, and effective worker's monitoring of questions of establishing new norms and pay rates; it advocates the equitable use of social insurance funds by all working people irrespective of trade union membership, and it proposes the reshaping of the existing Labor Law Code with a preliminary extensive discussion of the draft within labor collectives;

9. Interfront regards the USSR as a multiethnic state and supports the establishment throughout USSR territory of a single unionwide citizenship. The status of citizenship of the Latvian SSR must be formulated in accordance with the USSR Constitution, the Latvian SSR Constitution, and other Soviet legislative documents on this question;

10. Interfront supports the demands of the republic's public regarding the need to further develop Latvian culture, radically change the ecological and demographic situation, and develop industry and agriculture in light of the specific features of the Latvian SSR and the country's entire Baltic region;

11. Interfront believes that questions of the country's defense, state security, and foreign policy are exclusively within the competence of the USSR and are its prerogative;

12. Interfront advocates peace, universal total disarmament, the proclamation of the Baltic and Scandinavian regions as a nuclear weapons-free zone, broader contacts between the republic's citizens and the citizens of other states, the right of any citizen to choose where he wants to live within the USSR and any other country of the world, and the granting to everyone who so wishes of the right to return home;

13. Interfront proposes publishing the names of:

—Nazi criminals;
—members of the organization of Aizsargi [literally: defenders; used to designate members of a volunteer national guard in Latvia] who are guilty of causing the death of people fighting for Soviet power in Latvia;
—the direct organizers and active perpetrators of crimes by nationalist gangs;
—people who took an active part in carrying out Stalin's repressions on Latvian territory.

III. Economic Reform

Interfront considers it the main task of economic reform in the Latvian SSR to impart a qualitatively new status to the republic's economy, enabling an increase in the efficiency of social production and in working people's real living standards. It is important to make people happy today and to ensure them confidence in the future for themselves, their children, and their grandchildren.

1. Interfront advocates economic independence for the Latvian SSR within the framework of the country's unified national economic complex on the principles of economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet], self-financing, and self-management for labor collectives and of socialist competition [sotsialisticheskaya konkurentsiya] among commodity producers on the basis of the real implementation of these and other principles of the economic reform; it advocates sovereignty and real economic power for the soviets of people's deputies at all levels.

2. The development of high-technology, resource-saving, waste-free, competitive, and environmentally clean production units and technologies in industry and agriculture taking into consideration the republic's historical and cultural traditions is the material base for ensuring the economic independence of the Latvian SSR.

3. Interfront recognizes a diversity of forms of socialist ownership of the means of production and will promote the development of contract relations and leasing, the creation of joint ventures with foreign capital and special economic zones on the territory of the Latvian SSR, and other progressive forms of economic activity. The diversity of forms of socialist ownership can only be developed by the transfer of individual state enterprises to labor collectives on lease, the development of the cooperative movement and individual labor activity, and the transfer of land to peasants for use on unlimited-duration lease terms.

4. Within the framework of the economic reform Interfront proposes: to reconstruct and, where necessary, retool inefficient enterprises; create medium- and small-scale independent enterprises using advanced technology; transform one machine building plant into a specialized science-and-production association producing agricultural equipment for the USSR's Baltic region; devise programs to reduce the power-intensiveness of the republic's industry and also for the construction of efficient electric power stations; implement independent scientific examination of the main economic programs and ensure their discussion by the republic's population.

5. Interfront proposes to effect state regulation of commodity producers' activity using economic methods: taxes, subsidies, rent payments, state purchases, loan interest rates, and so on. It proposes to abandon administrative-edict methods of economic management and enlisting working people to work their days off on account of "production necessity." It proposes establishing a 40-hour working week for all categories of workers and a minimum of 24 working days' paid leave.

6. Interfront condemns the extensive path of development for the economy and productive forces of the Latvian SSR and advocates the formulation of industrial development plans primarily on the basis of the republic's existing manpower. The current mechanical growth in population must be regulated chiefly by a range of

economic methods. Together with other interested organizations, Interfront will take an active part in formulating a Law on regulating mechanical population growth in the Latvian SSR.

7. Interfront proposes devising a comprehensive program for the development of the republic's agriculture and submitting it for broad discussion.

In order to ensure the priority development of the republic's agriculture, Interfront deems it expedient to establish on joint-stock principles a bank to ensure the economic development of the agro-industrial complex using special long-term deposits, citizens' personal savings, and part of the profit of Latvian SSR labor collectives; and to give agricultural producers the right to decide for themselves the organizational and economic forms of economic activity. [passage omitted]

V. Interethnic Relations

1. Interfront acknowledges that Latvian territory is the only place on earth where the indigenous nation's language and culture can develop harmoniously.

2. Interfront believes that interethnic problems must be resolved on principles of socialist democracy and social justice, guided by the USSR Constitution, the Latvian SSR Constitution, and Soviet laws, while observing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international documents on human rights issues signed and ratified by the USSR.

3. The free and equitable development and mutual enrichment of the cultures of all nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups in the Latvian SSR is the main condition for the normalization of interethnic relations. This was confirmed by the Forum of the Peoples of Latvia held in December 1988. Interfront proposes the creation of a chamber of nationalities at the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and permanent commissions on ethnic questions at local soviets.

4. Citizens' appointments to posts must be effected solely on the basis of the candidates' professional and moral qualities.

5. Interfront believes that the acute demographic situation within the republic has taken shape mainly owing to union departments' failure to consider the republic's manpower resources and through disregard for the development of the social infrastructure of production and cities, and also as a result of slow rates of scientific and technical progress; Interfront advocates regulating the mechanical growth in population by economic methods and through industrial enterprises' assimilation of modern technologies; Interfront urges labor collective councils, economic leaders, and the working class to take control of the solution of questions of regulating the mechanical increase in the population.

6. Interfront deems it necessary:

—to enshrine the Latvian and Russian languages as state languages in the Latvian SSR Constitution;
—to instruct the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on Interethnic Relations to draw up regulations (a law) on the use of Latvian and other languages used by the peoples resident on the territory of the Latvian SSR. The republic's inhabitants must have a chance to use any of these languages and obtain official documents in any particular language they choose; business must also be bilingual. A system of organizational, legal, and economic measures must be implemented to promote the natural harmonious development of real bilingualism; any administrative interference in this problem leads to tension and conflicts in interethnic relations.

7. Interfront proposes to rectify the unsatisfactory situation with regard to the study of the Latvian language in all educational establishments, take urgent steps to train teachers, and set uniform requirements for knowledge of the Latvian language for graduates of non-Latvian schools and for knowledge of the Russian language for graduates of Latvian schools; it proposes that conditions be created for all the republic's inhabitants to study Latvian and Russian, and the mass publication of literature for those wishing to study the Latvian language independently.

8. Interfront deems it necessary to thoroughly study and provide an objective picture of Latvian history, including its "blank spots."

9. Interfront proposes that the "nationality" column in all kinds of state questionnaires be abolished in the long-term, since nationality is a cultural-ethnic concept rather than an administrative-managerial concept.

10. Interfront proposes that law-enforcement organs galvanize their work to step up citizens' liability for the kindling of interethnic dissension.

11. Interfront deems it essential to determine the status of the Latvian SSR's state, people's, and national holidays and notable dates. [passage omitted]

'Appeal' for Cooperation

PM2802152189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 16 Feb 89 p 3

["Appeal From the Latvian SSR International Front of Working People To Our Supporters"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

We are appealing to you in connection with D. Ivans' response that was published in the press to the Interfront [International Front of Working People] Council's open letter to the Latvian People's Front [LPF] Duma and other materials.

In our letter we were guided by Point 7 of the LPF Statute and Point 2 of the Interfront Statute, which say that both organizations are prepared to cooperate with any public formations in resolving questions envisaged by their program documents.

In our opinion, the creation of a coordinating committee would enable us, after taking a step to meet one another half-way, to finally switch to real actions to restructure all aspects of life in the republic. We hoped for mutual understanding but instead received the LPF chairman's response, which deeply disappointed us.

The political methods employed by D. Ivans were only used in previous years. Then "agents of imperialism," "enemies of the people," and "cosmopolitans" were glimpsed everywhere.

With a slight change of wording, D. Ivans is fiercely seeking "chauvinists," "traitors to the people," and "denationalized elements" in our midst.

His unhealthy conception of the realities of our life results in his seeing a Russian worker and Interfront member as an undesirable element endeavoring to spread the Russian language throughout the world.

No honest people, no working people who earn their crust through honest labor, irrespective of nationality, can be enemies. Differences of opinion on current events in the republic and the problems of its development are as natural as differences of taste.

Let's calmly take these differences and discuss them respectfully, using debate as a means of seeking the truth and coordinating our interests.

We urge all supporters and members of Interfront to devote their efforts to eliminating interethnic barriers. The people who are trying to cause a quarrel between us are in fact the opponents of restructuring and revolutionary renewal. The danger of the dissolution of small nations has appeared in our modern world with its reduced distances, global media, standardized consumer goods, fashions in dress and style of behavior, and similar musical beats. An increase in their consciousness is the natural salutary answer to this situation. If we add that the national dignity of Latvians, like our country's other peoples, was harshly oppressed during the period of Stalin, one can understand that this increase in consciousness is quite natural for the Latvian people.

Respect for the language and culture of other peoples is above all a sign of a people's lofty culture. At the same time, notwithstanding the equality of all peoples living in the republic and the observance of their right to the development of their own national culture, the priority of Latvian culture in Latvia is indisputable.

We are call on you to seek ways to cooperate with LPF cells at their enterprises in order to consolidate the healthy forces within the republic in the struggle for restructuring. Try to destroy the enemy image that certain LPF leaders have created of our organization's members.

The mass media have also helped create this image. You can't miss the letters from Russian litterateurs, members of the Latvian Writers' Union, published in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 20 January this year. When a writer takes pride in his work's imagery and beauty, that is a legitimate pride. Just as a joiner's pride in the beauty of the furniture he has made is legitimate.

But when a writer reproaches a joiner with not speaking as well as a writer, that is not writer's pride but writer's conceit, which is especially shameful since the writer writes his works at a table made by the joiner.

We appeal to you, Comrades: Speak and state your views! It is not the form of the speech that determines the value of the words uttered but the level of morality and the purity of the speaker's motives.

Difficult years of restructuring lie ahead of us. They will require concentrated labor, initiative, political activeness, persistence, and boldness from us. We need unity and more unity from all the republic's inhabitants.

In the course of the coming election campaign we urge you to vote for the candidate deputies who stand for consolidating Soviet Latvia's inhabitants and strengthening its alliance with all the USSR's other republics.

That will be a reliable guarantee of the success of restructuring.

[Signed] The Presidium of the International Front of Latvian SSR Working People Republican Council.

Latvian Judiciary Officials on Picketing

PM0203100089 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Ya.E. Dzenitis, Latvian SSR prosecutor; G.A. Zemribo, chairman of the republic Supreme Court; V.Ya. Skudra, Latvian SSR minister of justice; and B.Ya. Shteynbrik, republic minister of internal affairs, by LATINFORM correspondents L. Shvarts and B. Sebyakin: "Attention Focused on Pickets"—date, place of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The shock of the first appearance in the streets of Latvian cities of people expressing their attitude to the most important questions of contemporary life in an organized and open way has passed. The era of restructuring and cardinal changes has made its presence felt most markedly in the development of glasnost and the widening of the concept of "freedom." Rallies, demonstrations, marches, and picketing have become customary. Nonetheless many people by no means always regard such manifestations of pluralism of opinion as an integral part of democracy and socialism. Yet Article 50 of the USSR Constitution apparently stipulates that in accordance with the people's interests and with a view to strengthening and developing the socialist system, USSR citizens are guaranteed the freedoms of: speech, the press, meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations. But it took time to spell out: What lies behind this right? After all, it is no accident that it was the restructuring era that brought forth the decree on responsibility for the violation of the established procedure for organizing and holding the events guaranteed by the aforementioned article of the constitution.

The conversation between LATINFORM correspondents L. Shvarts and B. Sebyakin, and Ya.E. Dzenitis, Latvian SSR prosecutor; G.A. Zemribo, chairman of the republic Supreme Court; V.Ya. Skudra, Latvian SSR minister of justice; and B.Ya. Shteynbrik, republic minister of internal affairs, was an attempt to examine the legal nuances of today's manifestations of democracy and pluralism.

[Correspondents] It is perhaps fair to say that Soviet society today is on the whole ready for an open clash of opinions, a struggle of ideas and views, and a quest for alternative approaches to the resolution of urgent problems. But this takes different forms, and can go as far as shocking actions with provocative posters. How are such actions assessed by the law enforcement organs?

G. Zemribo: I think I am expressing the opinion of the majority of lawyers and legal experts when I say that the present political situation in the republic is determined precisely by the further growth of glasnost and the development of socialist pluralism of opinion. The fact that we do not prosecute people for free thinking is also indicated by the fact that in the last few years proceedings have not been taken against a single person for state crimes. The review of cases and the rehabilitation of persons formerly unjustly convicted of so-called anti-Soviet activity are continuing.

In our view the most complete and principled assessment of the present political situation was given at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held in January of this year.

That assessment was fully supported and approved by the Supreme Court party organization. In our program for future activity we intend, in particular, to step up our participation in the formation and discussion of laws, the aim of which is to create the legal foundations of the socialist rule-of-law state.

In this context we support and acknowledge as correct the drafting of legislative acts like the Latvian SSR Constitution, the Latvian SSR Law on Languages, the Latvian SSR Law on Citizenship, and legislation on questions of limiting immigration.

At the same time we should not close our eyes to the fact that the democratic processes of restructuring have exacerbated ethnic relations. This is particularly noticeable here in the Baltic region. Personally I think we could avoid many problems of an ethnic nature by resolving fundamental questions of a socioeconomic nature. After all, the development of Latvia's economy is still extensive in nature, and our republic's peculiarities are not taken into account. The "strain" continues in the supply of food and consumer goods. Questions of the construction of housing, hospitals, cultural institutions, and environmental conservation facilities are not being satisfactorily resolved. Nor have we gotten rid of the diktat of central ministries and departments. In this connection one can understand the excessively emotional assessments that people sometimes make of what is happening in the republic. Nonetheless, having set the task of creating a true rule-of-law state, we simply cannot ignore any manifestations whatever of nationalism, extremism, and anti-Sovietism, which some demonstrators and protesters are guilty of.

We are encountering more and more often isolated actions by individuals or small groups of citizens expressing their demands, protests, and views with the help of posters and slogans. Such actions do not fall into the category of meetings, rallies, street marches, or demonstrations—we call them picketing. But clearly the time has come for legal regulation of picketing. I think this could be done both by means of a supplement to the "Provision on the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations," and by way of an explanation of the application of this provision, in the form of a Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution.

[Correspondents] It is no secret that the republic MVD, editorial offices, and party organs receive a great many letters on the subject of pickets, in which people express their indignation at the texts of appeals and the offensive nature of the drawings. What about, for instance, the posters "Occupation army and militia—out!", "Immigrants are the Chernobyl of Latvia," "Russians out of Latvia!"

Picketers sometimes literally block all the approaches to state institutions, create obstacles to road traffic, and demand that passers-by sign an appeal of some kind. As we know, neither the slogans nor the actions of the picketers today meet with active opposition from the militia. Naturally, the question arises, does this not amount to a violation of public order and the constitutional norms of the country and the republic?

B. Shteynbrik: We know that the main organizers of such pickets, as a rule, are members of the "Helsinki-86" group, the Latvian National Independence Movement, and the Environmental Protection Club. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum condemned the activity of groups that, adhering to positions of political adventurism, undertake energetic actions to kindle anti-Soviet and separatist feelings and negate the historical choice of the Latvian working people in favor of socialism. This was said clearly and unequivocally. But the groups in question did not draw the proper conclsions, continue to act provocatively and irresponsibly, and, moreover, even have access to the television screens and make statements on the radio and in the republican press.

The MVD's opinion is unequivocal: The activity of "Helsinki-86" and the Latvian National Independence Movement come under Articles 65 and 69 of the republic's Criminal Code: "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and "violation of national and racial equality," with all the ensuing consequences. As for the texts of the posters and appeals that these groups' members take out onto the streets, the "inaction" of the militia in this case rests on a legal footing. The measures described as "picketing" are not mentioned in the laws adopted or the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Responsibility for the Violation of the Established Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations." The point is that they do not explain the legal meaning of the term "demonstration," which has several meanings. For instance, it is a form of mass expression of a public mood, a means of studying a particular phenomenon in visual form, and an action expressing an emphatic protest. It is clear from this that a demonstration could be a rally or a march. And what is called picketing is also basically a demonstration.

The growing "popularity" of demonstrations of this kind must, of course, cause us concern. Especially since sometimes they develop, obviously not spontaneously, into large rallies, as happened, for instance, on 13 February at the republican Council of Ministers building. A large number of people gathered there and emerged onto the highway in Lenin Street, literally blocking the road. This situation cannot rule out accidents, for which someone should be held responsible. Unfortunately our radio and television journalists and the Latvian People's Front leaders contributed to the organization of this unlawful act. We see a similar picture, though on a slightly smaller scale, at the Baltic Military District headquarters. There too a good many posters and banners with offensive content were displayed. The "greens" are currently holding their sitdown by the Freedom Monument illegally, without any permission from the city authorities, and are creating obstacles to traffic.

There is an urgent need to define, to say what is what, and to enshrine all the concepts in law, including that of "picketing." Moreover, in our view, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms must be more serious and responsible about issuing permission for the holding of rallies and demonstrations. Unfortunately practive shows that today any organization or group, irrespective of its political orientation, can obtain permission for its events in one way or another.

We have prepared our proposals, for the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for amendments to the "Provision on the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations." This document, we think, should say that the actions of individual citizens publicly expressing their demands or protests should also be governed by the 28 July 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree. And if the actions of these citizens are interpreted as containing elements of infringements stipulated by other articles of the Latvian SSR Code on Administrative Infringements or the Criminal Code of the republic, proceedings should be taken with regard to these unlawful actions too. We are also recommending that the gorispolkom designate special sites in the city where people could assemble for sociopolitical events.

[Correspondents] Is there any particular difficulty in categorizing the content of certain banners and posters, as well as public statements by a number of figures in informal movements? We know, for instance, that republican Prosecutor Comrade Dzenitis is convinced that the speeches and statements of E. Berklav, leader of the Latvian National Independence Movement, are of an extremist, anti-Soviet nature. On this basis, at a press conference, you announced your decision, Yanis Eduardovich, to submit to the republican government the question of the legality of the existence of such an orgnaization. How do you assess the fact that gaps in legislative protection offer the opportunity freely to deliver public utterances like this in Latvia: "The Democratic Union welcomes the national liberation movement of the Latvian state and hopes for joint participation in the struggle against communist dictatorship... The aim of separating the Baltic states, in particular Latvia, from the USSR, the aim of changing the state system within the Baltic states and in the country as a whole should be proclaimed quite openly... We openly refuse to submit to communist dictatorship, and we invite you to do the same..."

Ya. Dzenitis: I can find nothing new in these statements by a Democratic Union spokesman, made at the congress of the Latvian National Independence Movement. They only confirm my conviction that the Latvian National Independence Movement organization is alien to the socialist society and serves not to benefit, but to harm it.

I believe the political situation in the republic is affected extremely negatively by the holding by certain informal organizations and groupings of both unauthorized meetings and mini-demonstrations described by their organizers as "picketing." I have several times explained my own understanding of the concept of a "picket" in the press and on television.

I wish only to draw attention to the fact that demonstrations in the form of pickets are by no means spontaneous, as some people try to make out. They are planned and prepared beforehand, and are taking on an increasingly mass nature. Concern must also be caused by the content of numerous banners and posters and attempts openly to disobey the demands of militia workers. I am referring in particular to the case of the removal, on a decision of Riga Gorispolkom, of the unlawfully displayed street exhibition stand of the Latvian National Independence Movement. The organization's supporters patently provoked militia workers to an open confrontation by promising to offer physical resistance. Evidence against one of the initiators, for disobeying the legitimate demands of representatives of the authorities, was submitted to Kirovskiy Rayon people's court. But the court saw no unlawful actions in his conduct. The Kirovskiy Rayon prosecutor twice protested to the Kirovskiy people's court and the Latvian SSR Supreme Court, but to no avail. The Latvian National Independence Movement's exhibition stand is back in its place. I cannot understand this "compliance" on the part of Riga Gorispolkom.

One also cannot help wondering: Who are these people who have the time to spend many hours a day waiting outside buildings, collecting signatures, handing out pamphlets, and pinning up posters? What do they live on? Are they on vacation, or are they disabled, perhaps? I don't think so, somehow! Moreover juveniles are more and more often to be found in the pickets: schoolchildren and students from technical schools and colleges. Yet it is obvious that there is someone at work or in the lecture hall covering up for their absence, and that is illegal too. Incidentally, it has been observed that banners and posters of a nationalist, anti-Soviet, and extremist nature are carried in pickets always by the same people, as a rule.

I think a partial solution to the problem lies in the speedy publication by the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium of an official explanation to the effect that a picket is also a demonstration, and therefore the well-known decree applies fully to pickets too.

I should point out that recent events have forced us to apply Article 69 of the republic's Criminal Code, which we have already mentioned. In particular, the Latvian SSR Prosecutor's Office has brought three criminal cases on instances of kindling ethnic discord. In one case for distributing inflammatory pamphlets and letters, and in the other two for organizing unauthorized rallies in February of this year at the Baltic Military District headquarters and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers building.

[Correspondents] It is becoming obvious from our conversation that the negative effects of pluralism are due largely to the imperfections of the legislative system. But as we understand it, for professional lawyers the way to resolve the problem is clear enough?

V. Skudra: I feel this question is addressed to me. It is true that terminology relating to the organizing and holding of demonstrations and so-called pickets is unclear at present. In order to apply the law correctly, these concepts should be explained with the utmost clarity. And the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium could do this, since the terms themselves are given in an act of union legislation—the 28 July 1988 decree.

At the same time the measures laid down in existing legislation (administrative or criminal penalties) should be applied to citizens holding banners whose content belittles the honor and dignity of other citizens and offends the people.

The logical thing would be for such instances to receive not only a social assessment, but a judicial one too. But at the moment this is not happening.

Yet talking about banning pickets and punishing people for various statements is not an end in itself. We are waging a struggle to create a rule-of-law state. This idea is supported by literally all strata of the population. But, as always, the distance between words and deeds is too great. Laws exist in themselves, but people act at their own discretion, using arguments about democracy and restructuring as a cover for individual manifestations of voluntarism.

One can, of course, propose partial measures to govern the holding of rallies and pickets. But this does not resolve the problem at its roots. We Latvian lawyers believe it is necessary to raise ideological work and legal propaganda to a considerably higher standard. The LPF, one of whose resolutions is devoted to the question of creating a rule-of-law state, could do much to this effect. The concept of the rule of law should rank with such common human values as honor, conscience, humanism, and culture in the mind of every person who cares about the future of restructuring.

Latvian Constitution Drafters Confer

PM0103161589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "At the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] A joint session of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies Commission and Working Group for the Drafting of the New Latvian SSR Constitution and the Law on Elections has been held.

The session was chaired by Ya.Ya. Vagris, chairman of the deputies commission.

A report was delivered by V.Ya. Skudra, chairman of the working group and Latvian SSR justice minister.

Proposals for determining the timetables for preparing these legislative acts and distributing responsibilities among the working group members were examined. Four subgroups have been set up. In the course of a month during the first phase of this work a draft republic law on changes to the Latvian SSR Constitution with regard to the electoral system, and a draft law on elections to the supreme and local organs of state power, will be drawn up.

The subgroup drawing up the draft law on elections to the supreme and local organs of state power is headed by I.L. Lisagor, chief of the republic's Ministry of Justice Administration for the Systematization of Legislation and the Preparation of Draft Legislation.

The subgroup drawing up the draft law on changes to the Latvian SSR Constitution with regard to the electoral system is headed by A.M. Kruminsh, chief of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Legal Department.

THe subgroup drawing up the section of the draft new Latvian SSR Constitution pertaining to the foundations of the social system and policy in the Latvian SSR, its national, state, administrative, and territorial system, state power, the state budget, and economic and social development is headed by R.Yu. Senkan, chief of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs Administrative Law Department.

The subgroup drawing up the section of the draft new Latvian SSR Constitution pertaining to questions of the state, the individual, justice, arbitration, prosecutors' supervision, and the Latvian arms, flag, and anthem is headed by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yu.R. Boyars, senior lecturer at the Petr Stuchka Latvian State University.

After the joint session the subgroups discussed practical matters.

Dushanbe Protest Shows Need To Change 'Thinking'

PM0103154789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin article in response to a reader's letter: "Dushanbe: The Debate in the Square"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Esteemed KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial board! I have heard that a demonstration of several thousand people has taken place in Dushanbe at which nationalists were heard out and which had to be dispersed with militia help. Is this true? So far I have failed to find an answer in the mass media.

N. Martynova, Kaliningrad, Moscow Oblast.

It is true that last week an event occurred in Dushanbe which has agitated not just the inhabitants of the capital but of the republic as a whole. At midday on 24 February groups of people, mainly students, began to gather in front of the building of the supreme soviet presidium and council of ministers of the Tajik SSR. This attracted the attention of passers-by. The square gradually filled up and soon it became impassable for traffic. A "traffic jam" built up. At that time it was not yet clear that people had not gathered in the square spontaneously, that there were organizers who had on the previous day submitted a request to the city authorities to be allowed to hold a rally. It is true that the deadline for the submission of an application to hold a rally had not been observed by the organizers. But the rally took place all the same. What was the pretext for the gathering in the city's main square?

The point was that a commission which is to draft proposals on the status of the state language and the use of languages in the Tajik SSR was working at the supreme soviet presidium on that day and on previous days. This commission had been set up in response to numerous letters and statements received of late by the government and the editorial offices of the republic mass media, proposing that Tajik be given the status of state language. After reading articles on this topic published in the local press, you come to the conclusion that there is no complete unanimity as to whether there should be one, two, or several state languages in the republic. Doctor of Medical Sciences Professor M. Muradov, for instance, believes that the establishment of Tajik as the state language would place the multinational population of the republic in a difficult position.

It must be admitted that the situation in the republic as regards teaching Tajik in schools and VUZ's cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Just as it is impossible to view as resolved all the questions connected with the mastering of Russian—the language of interethnic communication—especially by young people or with the organization of the teaching of the mother tongues of other nationalities, and there are some 100 in Tajikistan.

Talking to Dushanbe inhabitants in recent days, I was aware of my interlocutors' noticeable concern. Many were asking: What consequences does the passing of a law on the state language entail? What will change in the life of the people living in the republic? What will improve, and what may be to the detriment of the population?

It was nothing but impatience and a desire to speed up the solution of the language problem which prompted the initiators of the rally to gather young people around themselves and lead them into the square. By this, and it was obvious, they wanted to "put pressure" on the commission, to publicly express their unequivocal opinion. And the opinion of the rally participants amounted to this: Tajik must become the state language "without any rivals!"

I would like to note that the members of the supreme soviet commission were not afraid to come out into the square and express their viewpoint on the questions raised at the rally. I asked Gaibnazar Pallayevich Pallayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who heads the commission which is drafting proposals on the status of the state language in the republic, to describe what happened.

It is true that the rally had not been officially authorized, Comrade Pallayev said. But looking through the windows we could see the crowd of people that had gathered, we could see their agitated faces, and we understood that there was no need to exacerbate the situation by sanctions of any sort.

The rally lasted 2 hours. There were many speeches—emotional, impassioned speeches. Explanations and answers to the questions were given by G. Pallayev; M. Asimov, member of the presidium of the republic Academy of Sciences; M. Kanoatov, first secretary of the republic Writers Union board; A. Tursunov, director of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, and others.

An important result of the debate in the square was its peaceful outcome. People dispersed having obtained the answers to many, if not all the questions which only a few hours before seemed insoluble or were interpreted from incorrect positions.

Having learned many of the details about this event, the following thoughts involuntarily come to mind: Why had the young people not been given these answers before? Why was it necessary for people to gather in the square and demand explanations? After all, the rally that had been organized by self-appointed people could have been organized by the party gorkom, for instance, or the Komsomol city committee, or some other social organization, had they felt the need. And, ultimately, the members of the republic supreme soviet presidium commission too are obliged to show initiative, not just during sessions but also in communication with the people.

I learned with amazement that not one representative of the Dushanbe party gorkom volunteered to speak at the rally, to express his attitude to the questions that were raised. I questioned Munira Abdullayevna Inoyatova, party gorkom secretary, about this. She was away, incidentally, on 24 February.

Our propagandists, agitators, and party officials, Munira Abdullayevna said, are as yet unable to engage in polemics with a crowd without a script, without having done their "homework." They shrink in the face of a barrage of questions. They are afraid that they may say something that is out of place, something out of line with their superiors. After all, this might lead to decisions on organizational questions....

The debate in the square in Dushanbe has shown that it is necessary to change old habits and stereotypes of thinking. Today glasnost and democracy demand openness toward the people, maturity and courage in discussions, firm socialist conviction, the skill to lead people from the front and to inspire them to concrete actions in the name of restructuring.

Debate on State Language Continues in Tajikistan

LD2402044389 Moscow TASS in English 0814 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Dushanbe February 23 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Nemirovsky

Discussions on the state language are gaining momentum in Soviet Tajikistan (Central Asia). Some residents of the republic demand recognition of the stajik language as compulsary for its entire population. Others object, saying that this would put other numberous ethnic groups into a difficult position. In the opinion of many scientists and prominent public figures, the compromise would lie in including a rule on working lanugages into a law on the Tajik tongue as the state language.

Apart from Tajik, the Uzbek and Russian tongues could be also considered as working languages at the republican level. Some 40 per cent of population speak these languages. State acts should be published and office work done in these languages. In small enclaves where Tatars, Kazakhs and Turkmens live, it is suggested that, along with tajik, their national tongues should be recognised as working languages but on a local level. In fact, this will preserve the present state of affairs, but its formalisation in a law will satisfy Tajiks and will make more comfortable the position of minority ethnic groups. Some people point to the need for recognising the Russian language as a means of communication with peoples of other Soviet republics.

Such linguistic plurliasm does not obivate in any way the need for protecting the Tajik language by law. It will be an important factor for strengthening self-awareness. It is expected that the law to be adopted by this summer will stimulate the development of the Tajik language. Quite a number of problems have piled up in this respect. For instance many professors of Tajik University read lectures in Russian, since the scientific vocabulary of the Tajik language has not been worked out up to now.

Tashkent Conference on Interethnic Ties Opens

PM2402193189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference Held"]

[Text] Tashkent, 23 Feb—Urgent problems of improving interethnic relations under conditions of glasnost and the democratization of social life are being discussed at a regional scientific and practical conference which opened in the Uzbek capital today. Scientists, party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers, representatives of public organizations, journalists from all the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, and staffers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee are participating in it.

R. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report.

Slyunkov Continues Tour of Uzbekistan

LD0103133289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Comrade Slyunkov's stay in Ukbekistan continues. Today Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov paid a visit to Samarkand, where he visited the Elektrobytmash

Production Association, and in the office of the general director had a conversation with the leaders and main specialists of the association. Comrade Slyunkov acquainted himself with promising models of Samarkand refrigerators. [passage omitted]

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee toured the shop-floors of the enterprises and met the workers. There was a serious, frank conversation. [passage omitted] [video shows Slyunkov and party walking toward Elektrobytmash, discussion in office, Slyunkov examining refrigerators, meeting workers]

Comrade Slyunkov visited farms of Samarkand rayon. He had a meeting with the work force of the dairy produce unit of the Engels Kolkhoz. [passage omitted] Comrade Slyunkov acquainted himself with the work of the hothouse unit of the Moskva kolkhoz, one of the leaders in the oblast. He had a talk with the leaders of contract teams. [passage omitted] Today Comrade Slyunkov returned to Tashkent. [video shows Slyunikov visiting farms and talking to people]

At the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee there was a meeting with members and candidate members of the bureau, leaders of the Central Committee departments and also of the republic's Academy of Sciences. [video shows large building]

On his trip Comrade Slyunkov was accompanied by Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and by other leaders of the republic. [video shows Slyunkov and party walking in open air]

Addresses Workers in Tashkent

LD0103204789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Slyunkov is continuing his sojourn in Uzbekistan.

[Unidentified correspondent] [video shows Slyunkov and entourage including Nishanov being shown around works, aircraft assembly shop] Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov visited Tashkent Chkalov Aviation Production Association today; this major enterprise in Uzbekistan manufactures the Il-76 cargo aircraft well-known throughout the world. Comrade Slyunkov was briefed on the working and living conditions of the workers. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee also looked at an exhibition of consumer goods. As Vasiliy Nikolkayevich Zhuravlev, general director of the association, said, assimilation is under way at the enterprise of another new passenger aircraft, the Il-114. [video shows Slkyunkov being shown around hothouses, admiring citrus fruits]

Comrade Slyunkov also visited the Limonaryy kolkhoz combine, in Ordzhonikidzev rayon, Tashkent Oblast. Last year the collective of the combine transferred to team contracting, and from this year it has started working on the check-book system of payment, and things have really taken off. Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, and other republican leaders accompanied comrade Slyunkov. [video shows meeting in progress, Slyunkov at rostrum, Nishanov şitting behind him on platform]

A meeting took place in Tashkent today with the republican party-economic aktiv, representatives of tahe working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and members of the scientific and creative intelligentsia. Nikolya Nikitovich Slyunkov delivered an address there.

[Begin Slyunkov recording] Uzbekistan is gradually embarking on the path of acceleration. This, comrades, is in many respects the result of the great deal—I would say the huge amount—of improvement work done in the republican Communist Party and the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee. It is the result of the work of all the working people of your republic. The widest masses of the working people are joining in the creative work on renewing the material base of socialism with commitment. People are increasingly feeling themselves to be masters of their lives, responsible for their own present and future and are learning to think and act in a new and efficient way. As a political result of this, the economy is beginning to grow on a healthy foundation.

The party leadership, however, in assessing the processes of renewal, does not flatter itself. The party leadership gives a realistic evaluation and critical analysis of all sociopolitical processes in society and of the state of the economy. Comrades, we realize that we are only at the very start of the way to restructuring. The grave legacy of stagnation is still extensively holding back the economy in many respects, for the moment. No breakthrough has been achieved in scientific and technical progress, saving resources, and raising the quality of output. Both reconstruction and structural reorganization of the national economy are as yet being carried out too slowly. As yet, comrades, it has not been possible to adopt effective measures to improve the financial state of the national economy and to strengthen the economy drive in the country as a whole. One in five industrial enterprises and contract-labor construction and assembly organizations in the country are still not coping with their planned targets for financial results. One in 10 industrial enterprises in the country is still showing losses—something wholly incompatible, as you will understand, with the goals and tasks of our restructuring of the economy, all the more so with the principles of complete financial autonomy and the transition to financial autonomy. The losses of unprofitable enterprises and organizations still amount to R11 billion per annum. This is where the strong roots of parasitism and indiscriminate equality lie. They can be eradicated, of course, but only by raising the economic responsibility for the results of labor and by improving the organization of and payment for it, so that each worker genuinely feels that his own material well-being is closely linked with the financial state of his own enterprise and the results of the enterprise's work. [end recording]

More on Address to Workers

LD0203094889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1855 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Tashkent, 1 Mar (TASS)—All the work of deepening restructuring is taking place under the profound influence of the CPSU Central Committee's pre-election address to the party and the Soviet people. This was emphasized today by the participants of the Uzbekistan party and economic aktiv in the course of a meeting with Nikolay Slyunkov, candidate people's deputy of the USSR for the CPSU, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It took place in Tashkent, the Uzbek capital.

In his speech the candidate deputy noted that restructuring means a fundamentally new socioeconomic policy, the pivot of which is the social reorientation of the economy, an increase in well-being, and an improvement in the lives of Soviet people. The individual with his concerns and interests is placed at the center of the work. It is this approach that accords with the nature of our economic and political structure and Marxist-Leninist ideology, which has been and remains the ideology of social justice. This is why paramount attention is being attached by the party to the renewal of the economy and why the party is regarding this as a key political task. In this connection Nikolay Slyunkov recalled that for the 2d consecutive year national income and industrial output have been increasing solely through productivity.

Concerning the development of Uzbekistan's economy, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that the slow pace of reconstructing and technical retooling of existing enterprises, the insufficient utilization of production capactities, the slow growth in working people's qualificaitons, and poor economic and labor discipline. At the present time the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee and the republic's government have submitted to the CPSU Central Committee and to the USSR Council of Ministers a draft program for increasing the return from production potential and for introducing modern methods of direction and economic management. These proposals, Nikoaly Slyunkov said, are being examined and decisions will be made. However, he noted, the republic's economic and social problems can be tackled even in the coming few years by means of raising the return on the production potential that has been created. It is necessary to radically restructure all work and raise its economic and organizational level.

Speaking about interethnic relations, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said that strict observance of the principle of social justice is a most important condition for improving and harmonizing such relations. He indicated that it is important for party bodies not to lose the initiative here, but to really take vanguard positions in expressing and solving pressing problems.

The CPSU Central Committee noted that the internal transformations in the country are sharply extending the opportunities for organic inclusion of the Soviet economy in the world economy, which in turn would promote its modernization and increase its efficiency. A qualitative restructuring in the entire mechanism of interaction of the CEMA coutries, including the creation of conditions for the gradual formation of a joint socialist market, is of special significance. We view cooperation with the CEMA countries as a powerful factor for strengthening and developing the economies of the USSR and of the other fraternal countries, stressed Nikolay Slvunkov.

He dedicated the concluding part of his speech to the new nature of the mutual relations between the party and soviet bodies on the basis of demarcation of their functions. Nowadays political methods and political approaches are being advanced to the foreground in party work, including management of the economy. Such is the logic of the restructuring, said the speaker.

In conclusion Nikolay Slyunkov said:

The social and economic platform, with which the party is approaching the elections, has been refined in the course of the electoral campaign and concretized, and new ideas and proposals have been emerging. We are ready for discussion on any matter, in the mood for adopting all constructive things which are useful for socialism, and intend to refute in a well-argued way those views which drag one backward. The unity of party and people will undoubtedly be strengthened as a result of the elections. And that will be the main guarantee of a qualitative renewal of socialism and of success for restructuring.

Baklanov Visits Scientific Establishments

Academy of Sciences Institute 20 Feb

LD2002211389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Comrade Baklanov today visited the Machine-Science Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the main scientific organization which conducts fundamental applied research in the interests of the country's machine-building complex.

The director of the institute, Academician Frolov, talked about the work of the collective in conditions of restructuring and gave information on plans for the further development of the institute.

Comrade Baklanov inspected an exhibition of scientific and technological developments and laboratories, and talked to scientists and specialists. He stressed the importance of increasing the scientists' contribution to restructuring and of expanding mutually beneficial cooperation with scientific organizations of cema countries.

At the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences Comrade Baklanov considered questions connected with the opening up of world oceans and coastal shelfs. Particular attention was paid to the importance of developing ecologically clean technologies. Taking part in the review of questions were Koksanov, USSR Minister of Shipbuilding Industry; Marchuk, president of the country's Academy of Sciences; and other party and economic leaders.

Atomic Energy Institute 21 Feb

PM2302111489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Atomic Energy Institute"]

[Text] Of all the ways of obtaining energy, specialists regard the energy of fission and fusion of atomic nuclei as the most promising source. The I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute is responsible for resolving these tasks in our country.

This major scientific center was set up in 1943 and, as is well known, was able, in a very short space of time and to a high scientific and technical standard, to resolve a problem of vital importance to the country—the creation of our own nuclear weapons as a counterweight to the United States. After that, the institute's scientists put forward an initiative on the peaceful use of atomic energy and launched active research in this sphere. It was here that the ideas were born for the creation of mighty nuclear icebreakers, AES's, and heat supply stations based on nuclear power engineering complexes.

On 21 February at the I.V. Kurchatov Institute O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, inspected our country's biggest thermonuclear installation, the "Tokamak-15," which will make it possible to conduct research at a higher level in the sphere of controlled thermonuclear fusion, and studied work on high-temperature superconductivity. The collective's activity was described by Academicians Ye.P. Velikhov, B.B. Kadomtsev, N.N. Ponomarev-Stepnoy, and S.T. Belyayev, and other scientists.

O.D. Baklanov noted the exceptional importance of ensuring the guaranteed safety of nuclear power as the main condition of its social acceptability. It is not only a question of improving the existing types of AES nuclear reactors in this respect, but also of creating new ones with inherent safety characteristics. Ideas were put forward on the need for a substantial expansion and increase of the effectiveness of international cooperation in the sphere of atomic energy and an improvement in the work of the institute's collective in the conditions of restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary studied in detail the plans for the collective's forther social development and the organization of the staffers' work and life.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by L.D. Ryabev, USSR minister of medium machine building, and other party and economic leaders.

Comparison of Nikonov Ashkhabad Speech

PM0103153789

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 27 February 1989 in its Morning Edition publishes on page 2 a TASS report on CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.P. Nikonov's 25 February Ashkhabad speech to voters. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "Modern Agrarian Policy Is an Important Component of Restructuring," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow PRAVDA Russian version published in the 1 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 53-56, revealing the following variations:

Page 53
Column one
First paragraph entirely omitted in IZVESTIYA, from "The consolidation of..." through "...dialogue with voters." Column two
First paragraph, last sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...and actual results. The dissemination of positive experience and enhancement of cadres' initiative, enterprise, and responsibility are of decisive significance.

V.P. Nikonov addressed the... (adding sentence)
Last paragraph entirely omitted in IZVESTIYA, from "Like any revolutionary..." through "...from fully created."

Page 54
Column one
Fifth paragraph entirely omitted in IZVESTIYA, from "The party sees..." through "...good of socialism."

Page 55
Column one
Fifth paragraph, only sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...in every collective. The goals that have been set are perfectly attainable, but on one essential condition: All of us must work now and in the future in a different way, better, creatively, with verve, in the certainty that no one is going to solve the food problem for us, that it is a task for the whole party and for the whole country.

As regards specific... (adding sentence)
Last paragraph, only sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...neglected this sphere and the updating of its fixed capital has been so slow that the vast majority of it is worn out as well as obsolete.

As a result... (adding passage)
Column two
First paragraph, only sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...incurs tremendous losses.

In confirmation of this the example of Chardzhou Oblast was cited, where, as in the republic as a whole, there is a vital need to pay greater attention to processing sectors. Contracts and lease arrangements are very slow to develop in the republic, although there is a great desire to work in the new way at local level, in labor collectives.

At the same time, the speaker noted positive approaches and experience in the social transformation of the Turkmen countryside.

Among the... (picking up second paragraph, adding two paragraphs)
Paragraph eight, second sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ..."Water is life." But what is bad is hastily prepared plans, the grossest kind of violations in the construction of systems, unfinished work, and substandard use of irrigated land. Here too the situation cannot be tolerated for an hour, let alone a day or a month. Every effort must be made to combat not land reclamation (over the centuries it has been demonstrated that we cannot live without it), but substandard use of reclaimed land and to fight for high standards and efficiency.

Take your republic... (adding passage)

Page 56
Column one
Fifth paragraph, fifth sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...fruits and berries? This range of questions must be addressed seriously. It has to be remembered that the land must be passed on to the next generation in good condition.

We are faced... (adding sentences)

Belorussian Komsomol Rehabilitation Commission

PM2402123189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Out of Oblivion Into History"]

[Text] Minsk—A Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee commission for the rehabilitation of Komsomol members and Komsomol workers who were subjected to repressions during the years of the personality cult has been set up. Its activity is only part of an extensive program being implemented within the republic. Similar commissions are already in operation under the party Central Committee and the Belorussian Trade Union Council, and a Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet commission is being set up.

During the years of lawlessness and arbitrary rule, the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee address says, thousands of Komsomol workers were expelled from the ranks of the Komsomol as "enemies of the people" and subjected to repressions. The names of many participants in the revolution and the civil war and the organizers of the first Komsomol and pioneer cells were removed from our state's history for decades.

The commission has been instructed to study materials linked with violations of legality during the period of the personality cult and support the work of the republic's Komsomol organizations to restore the burial places of the victims of the repressions and take an active part in raising funds to construct a memorial to the dead. It is made up of Komsomol veterans, lawyers, Komsomol workers, historians, and journalists.

*Moldavian First Secretary on Language Problem

WA18000510 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA in Russian 29 Dec 88 pp 2-3

[Article by S. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian CPSU Central Committee: "A Time for Concrete Actions"]

[Excerpt] The process of restructuring and renewal, as it develops and enters the period of putting into practice the fundamental transformations outlined by the party in the political, social, and economic spheres of the life of the society, is exerting an enormous influence on the growth in the social consciousness of people. The process also reveals the pernicious effects of the times of stagnation upon their ways of thinking, indicating that ideological work lost its crucial tie to actuality, and at times does not have the influence it should on the minds and mood of the workers.

An urgent task lies ahead of us. By every means at our disposal we mustimprove the political and ideological work among the masses, firmly binding it to life, while preserving the main point of orientation—the class education of the workers and the raising of class consciousness, which should manifest itself in striving to work creatively and fruitfully, in carrying out economic reform, and in being irreconcilably opposed to negative phenomena.

In the interest of changing people's thinking in the spirit of restructuring, and in the interest of the restructuring itself, it is necessary to better exploit the intellectual and cultural resources of the republic. At the same time, we should proceed from the assumption that the intellectual life of our region needs further development; that a new emphasis must be given to the achievements of science, public education, and culture; and that every issue, regardless of the sphere in which it has arisen, must be resolved in a context of close coordination with the life of the union as a whole. It is also indisputable that all the values and gains achieved through the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples must be multiplied.

A large contingent if the intelligentsia, which has come of age in the republic during the years of Soviet power, is called upon to help the workers understand the essence of these changes, to rid themselves more rapidly of stagnant thinking, and to enter more actively into the renewal of life. The role of the intelligentsia is especially great in promoting among the people a healthy public opinion. This pertains in particular to such problems as the building of relations between nationalities, republic participation in the all-union division of labor, and preparations for regional economic self-sufficiency, as well as others. The correct solution to them is to be seen not in a narrowly national, unilateral approach, but rather in taking into account historical realities, traditions of the people many centuries old, their treasured hopes and interests, and in relying upon the sense of community that has developed in the country among the people—the Soviet people.

Consider the language problem. It is known that language is an essential element in the progress of any people and its intellectual culture. The Moldavian language is no exception. Unfortunately, during the years of lawlessness and stagnation, because of causal factors both objective and subjective, not only did it not undergo the necessary development but its social functions were diminished. The languages of other peoples were in a similar situation.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party and the government, aware of the necessity that had arisen to take steps to change the situation in the field of national language policy, adopted two important resolutions in May 1987: "On Improving the Moldavian Language in the Republic" and "On Improving the Russian Language in the MSSR." A little earlier, a resolution had been adopted on the further development of social, political, and labor activity of the Bulgarian and Gagauz populations living in the MSSR, which was directly related to the language problem.

In the course of implementing these documents and the measures to be taken in light of the guidelines, the network of pre-school facilities and educational institutions teaching the Moldavian language was expanded. At the present time the teaching process is conducted in Moldavian in 54.3 percent of the kindergartens in the republic, which are attended by more than half the children in public pre-school education. Out of 1,589 general education schools operating in the republic, the number conducted in Moldavian is 1,006, and 60 percent of the total number of students are enrolled in them. In addition, as of the start of the current academic year, seven middle schools with instruction in Moldavian were open, including three in Kishinev. A number of Russian-language schools have been reorganized into schools with instruction in both Moldavian and Russian.

Efforts have discernibly increased to develop the conditions for Moldavian language instruction in professional and technical schools and in higher and middle specialized educational institutions. Special subjects are taught in Moldavian in 18 professional and technical schools. New subjects are being offered in teaching and music schools, and the network of existing ones with instruction in Moldavian is being expanded. As of the start of the academic year, the number had increased 4.5 times in the medical schools.

The training of specialists with the highest qualifications in the medium of the Moldavian language in the medical, polytechnical, and agricultural institutes has begun. In the remaining higher educational institutions, training was conducted in two languages—Russian and Moldavian—even earlier. Moldavian language study has been introduced and the division of students into subgroups has been authorized in pre-school facilities, elementary classes of general education schools, professional and technical schools, and middle specialized teaching institutions with Russian language instruction. Approximately 3 million rubles have been allocated from the state budget for these purposes.

The republic Ministry of Public Education and the Academy of sciences are providing for the development of textbooks and academic teaching aids for the teaching of the Moldavian language and literature in the schools, professional and technical institutions, and higher and middle specialized education schools. A number of them have already been published. To facilitate language instruction, a "Dictionary of Homonyms of the Moldavian Language," "Russian-Moldavian Dictionary of Legal Terms," and "Russian-Moldavian Phrase Book" have been published. The two-volume "Russian-Moldavian Dictionary" has also appeared.

A journal on scientific methods of teaching entitled "Moldavian Language and Literature in the Schools" will be published, commencing in January 1989. The volume of broadcasting in Moldavian has been increased. At the present time between 65 and 81 percent of radio and television programs are now in the native language.

Greater attention is being given to more fully satisfying the social and cultural needs of the Bulgarian and Gagauz population, taking into account their requirements with respect to language, education, culture, literary and visual arts, the mass media, film production, and amateur artistic creation. Gagauz and Bulgarian language study has been resumed in certain schools in the southern part of the republic. Teacher training for them is going on in the State Pedagogical Institute imeni I. Kryange in Kishinev and the pedagogical school imeni A. Makarenko in Kagul. Sociopolitical supplements in the republic newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Bulgarian and in RODNO SLOVO and ANA SOZU in Gagauz, with a total circulation of 55,000 copies, have begun to be published twice a month. Similar pages are published regularly in five rayon newspapers, and, commencing 1 September, study of the Ukrainian language was started in a number of schools in Dubossarskiy, Kamenskiy, and Rybnitskiy rayons.

Control is being strengthened to ensure the right to conduct party, professional, and Komsomol gatherings, meetings, and conferences, and various other undertakings, in Moldavian as well as Russian, Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian, and other languages, and, similarly, over the practice of observing bilingualism in information work and advertising, transport, communications enterprises, as well as the names of populated areas and streets, etc.

As is evident from the facts introduced, and they could be amplified upon, a definite change for the better has been observed in the development and teaching of the Moldavian language, in improving its social role, and in the teaching of Russian and the languages of other nationalities residing in our land. These resolutions, however, of which we have been speaking, frankly, are being implemented slowly. Questions concerning the establishment of real bilingualism in the republic, improving language skills, and researching problems dealing with the functioning and development of languages still have not been fully addressed. Practical efforts in this direction are in fact lagging behind the development of national trends, which, it is commonly known, stand in need of continuously sustained attention and specific actions.

At the present time the language crisis has been focused mainly upon the issue of the status of the Moldavian language and its script. The Moldavian CP Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and republic government envisions the resolution of this issue in a single trustworthy program—one which safeguards the interests of all peoples and nationalities living in Moldavia. Moreover, in an effort not to be hasty in deciding this issue, the organs in charge in the republic have submitted for discussion the well-known theses, and they have established an inter-departmental commission to study the history and problems in the development of the Moldavian language. The Moldavian CP Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the government have held meetings on several occasions, and they have also met with members of the creative intelligentsia, scholars, and workers in the VUZ's, as well as party workers, students, and others. The press has devoted considerable attention to this problem, and it has arisen in the course of the report and election campaign.

A persistent, extensive, and comprehensive review of the language problem gives rise to the critical need for passage of a special law in which the Moldavian language is recognized as the language of the majority of republic residents and authorized as the official state language of the MSSR, while providing fully for the bilingual status of Russian and the unrestricted development of the languages of national minorities living in our homeland. For the practical implementation of this law, obviously, a state program must be worked out which provides measures for the progressive development of the Moldavian language and for creating conditions to ensure the establishment of bilingualism in all territories of the MSSR.

In dealing with the problem of the Moldavian language, we should remember that success in this matter can be achieved only by acting fairly, taking into account the interests of all peoples and nationalities living in the republic, and by being constantly mindful of the main objective—the further strengthening of the traditional relations of friendship between peoples. As a priority task therefore, the necessity must be recognized of having a similarly comprehensive development program for the Gagauz, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, and other languages, providing broader opportunities for the study of native languages and for making use of radio, television, the press and printing facilities, films, theaters, and amateur arts—that is, the entire range of cultural activities for the national development of the above-mentioned peoples and national groups.

There is no doubt that the Moldavian language belongs in the group of Romance languages. An original and distinctive language, it has served from time immemorial and serves to this day the people who give it its name. At the same time, the Moldavian language has for centuries used the Cyrillic alphabet, which has been thoroughly assimilated by the population of the region and organically interwoven into the scriptsof the other Soviet peoples, and which makes it possible for everyone to profit from the spiritual values of them all.

Scholars, the creative intelligentsia, students, journalists, and writers in Moldavian are now persistently advancing the idea of converting the Moldavian language to the Roman script. Many members of the inter-departmental commission as well tend to favor the Roman alphabet. This is a complex question from every standpoint; it is of concern not only to the intelligentsia but to all the people. Clearly, it should be decided in accordance with the people's wishes, and one step at a time, inasmuch as this is not just a campaign but a step of possibly historical import, requiring an adequate amount of preparation. No doubt it is necessary to start, let us say, with one newspaper and one journal in Roman type, along with the publication of certain classics of Moldavian literature using the Roman alphabet, together with compiling of a dictionary and taking certain other measures, after having thoroughly thought them out in advance at the state level. Experience will indicate how to proceed further. Neither emotion, nor prejudice, nor administrative procedure can be allowed to predominate. There must be reasonableness and balance of mind, and as in any other matter of national relations, there must be the exercise of realism, a search for optimal solutions, and a consolidation of social forces.

Today emotions are being whipped up throughout the land. They have begun to pour out onto the streets, and at times acquire a lawless character, leading to disruption of the social order. Need it be said that heedless talk and calls to action in this regard only exacerbate tensions and lead to the inflaming of passions? We repudiate such tactics. What is needed is not noisy or scathing words, but good sense and integrity, courage, and a high sense of civic duty. The time has come to make a transition from public rallies and debate to practical effort on a broad scale to implement the guidelines of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and carry out the restructuring program.

Supreme Court Chairman on Legal Procedures Reform

LD0103233889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar, TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

Legal reform in the USSR is beginning to take on a more specific legislative form. Vladimir Terebilov, USSR Supreme Court chairman, said at a meeting with Soviet journalists today that in all probability the next session of the USSR Supreme Court would be simultaneously examining three draft bills that have a direct relation to reform: the Draft Bases of Criminal Legislation, "the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR," and "The Law on Legal Procedure." [quotation marks as received] These acts, in particular, are intended to protect the court by legislation from interference in its activity and from displays of disrespect for it, and to raise the prestige of the court.

The recent widely publicized data about the state of crime in the USSR is so far pursuing the aim of ensuring glasnost as such, noted Terebilov. Things are not very good in the USSR, in terms of statistical research in this area. It is the concern of the MVD, the Procuracy, and the USSR Ministry of Justice, but the results of the work are of a nature specific to each one of those agencies. "We need to set up one autonomous institute specializing in this sphere", stressed Vladimir Terebilov. In his words it is also important to have at one's disposal the parallel statistics of the Western and socialist countries.

Vladimir Terebilov stressed that the growth in crime can in no way be linked with the humanization and democratization of the criminal legislation. "I categorically disagree with this," he declared. "The courts have not started bringing in more not guilty verdicts: The approach itself to examining cases has become more strict. Last year, for example, the USSR courts requested additional investigation into approximately 80,000 cases. But that figure is included in the published general data on crimes committed for the year."

Last year, reported Vladimir Terebilov, half as many cases came before the courts as in 1987. This means that the organs of the procuracy and militia considered it possible to solve them independently, without passing them on to the court. "This is an absolutely positive thing", considers the USSR Supreme Court chairman.

"Unfortunately," said Vladimir Terebilov, "In Soviet legal procedure the prosecution still takes preference, although in comparison with former times there are now significantly fewer guilty verdicts: Last year 34 percent of all those found guilty in the USSR were sentenced to deprivation of liberty. Previously that indicator had risen to 52-58 percent".

The journalists asked many questions about the death penalty. Vladimir Terebilov said that now in the USSR there had been a two to three-fold drop in the application of this extreme measure of punishment. But for the present, he added, it is advisable to reduce the number of articles in the criminal code that carry the death penalty rather than to renounce it absolutely.

Economic

Plan To Convert Military Production Urged

PM2802144189 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 8, 20-26 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 22 Feb 89) p 6

[Article by B. Rayzberg, doctor of economic and technical sciences, under the rubric "Lecture for All": "Is It Easy To Beat Swords Into Plowshares"]

[Text] **Following M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session, the unusual word "conversion" has been adopted in general use. There is every reason to believe that conversion will become as much a companion of restructuring as democratization, glasnost, and economic reform.**

Dictionaries give the general meaning of the word "conversion" as transformation. This term has recently started being used in the context of its related word "reconversion," meaning the national economy's transfer from military to civilian production. Perhaps the most apt meaning of the ideas of "conversion" and "reconversion" is reflected by the well-known expression "beating swords into plowshares." Usually, a war economy's switch to civilian tracks occurs after the end of a war. What was it that prompted our state's political leader now, in a period of prolonged peace, to speak from the UN rostrum about the implementation of programs to convert military production in the Soviet Union?

Principle of Reasonable Sufficiency

The arms race has taken the entire world in its grip over the past few decades. This produced the greatest effect on the two "superpowers," the United States and the USSR. They competed in the development of atom, hydrogen, and neutron bombs, ICBM's, supersonic fighter and bomber aircraft, nuclear submarines with nuclear missile weapons on board, cruise missiles, cluster warheads, and chemical, biological, and laser weapons.

The buildup of the quantity and might of arms reached the point a long time ago where each of the sides involved in this large-scale and senseless competition started measuring its military potential using a new and hitherto unknown indicator—how many times over could these weapons be used to destroy "the enemy" and even the earth's entire population: five, ten, and nowadays perhaps even twenty times over. Hardly anyone gave a thought to the simply terrifying truth: Man and mankind can be destroyed only once, and just a tiny quantity of the weapons already created is quite sufficient for a single occasion.

Why did it become necessary to develop them over and above this—as nuclear specialists would say—"critical mass"? Simply in order not to fall behind the rival, to maintain so-called arms parity. The parity principle, in other words the process of essentially equalizing or leveling, does not appear fair or convincing even when it comes to the consumption of social wealth. And when it comes to weapon systems, the senselessness of this approach—which generates suspicion and a joint race—becomes obvious after even the briefest pause for reflection.

First, because arms structures differ and there is no full and reliable information on a potential enemy's arms stockpiles, there is always a suspicion that parity is not being maintained.

Second, if there should be a genuine call for real parity, it would be necessary to ensure not equality of arms but equality of defense capability or, more precisely, of security.

Third—and this is the main point: As and when a certain maximum level of arms has been reached—a level that is sufficient to deter any aggressive attempt by the likelihood of a counterstrike capable of destroying the attacking side once (there is no need for more)—any further buildup of strategic weapons is tantamount to a pointless waste of resources.

Being a specialist in the defense technology sphere—with the relevant specialized education, 20 years of experience at work, and a doctorate—I claim with utmost responsibility that this level of sufficient defense capability was reached a long time ago and has been considerably exceeded by each of the opposed sides. Disarmament which does not bring either the USSR or the United States to a level below sufficient security is admissible without any risk, especially on a reciprocal basis. Moreover, if disarmament is combined, the actual level of guaranteed defense capability will decline.

I am convinced that, given the currently developed types and stockpiles of destructive weapons, the superprojects for space arms like the U.S. SDI project are totally meaningless.

What Is the Cost of Arms?

It is not our custom to delve into the bookkeeping of defense. Only part of the budget expenditure on defense—the part directly associated with the Army's upkeep—is officially published. This is not so much a matter of secrecy as a matter of official doctrine which has been maintained for many years: Defense expenditure must be as high as may be necessary to ensure the country's reliable defense capability.

There was an occasion when, at a session of the scientific council of an umbrella institute in one of the defense industry's leading sectors, I voiced a thesis about the expediency of insisting on thorough economic substantiation of defense projects. A high-ranking officer who spoke afterward said this: "Comrades! What are they asking us to do? To save money at the expense of the country's defense, the state's security? This is impermissible in principle!" As my luck would have it, this happened already in the sixties, and no further terrible charges against me ensued. When it is a matter of preserving human life and society, then any talk about expenditure, costs, and money really appears inappropriate. But only to the point where viability and expenditure are really interlinked and when expenditure does not exceed the maximum possible.

A presentation of an accurate picture of budget appropriations and defense expenditure does not appear possible owing to the fact that, given the current planning and accounting system, it is difficult to single them out from the overall system, the single pot of resources where they are mixed together with other expenditures. But a macroanalysis and a general comparison do not require accurate figures; approximate expert estimates which present a clear picture are perfectly sufficient. Let us run the risk of resorting to such evaluations.

We are counting in billions of rubles. The mass media cite these figures without explaining what they mean. The man in the street knows the meaning of one, ten, or a hundred rubles; some lucky people deal in thousands of rubles, while those whose fortunes run into the tens of thousands strive, as a rule, to keep their money accumulations a secret. Construction industry workers know the meaning of millions of rubles, while familiarity with billions is the province of Ministry of Finance, Gosbank, and Gosplan officials.

Just to give an idea, one billion rubles looks like a stack of R100 notes which is 1 km high, or the equivalent of the wages earned by 10,000 persons throughout their lifetime, or an amount sufficient to enable all residents of a city with a population of 200,000 to acquire cooperative apartments.

According to official data, U.S. budget appropriations for defense (military) needs amount to approximately $300 billion a year. It is, of course, not worth using a direct "translation" which is based on the ruble-dollar exchange rate and assumes an existing arms parity, since the United States incurs considerably greater expenditure to maintain its highly paid professional army and a multitude of military bases abroad. It is nevertheless obvious that our own military expenditure (taking into account the costs of the Army's upkeep, operational costs, scientific research, and so on) is far in excess of R100 billion a year.

An accurate figure will be published eventually. But even allowing for errors in estimates, which could be as high as 10 percent or even more, it is easy to realize that we are talking about a colossal amount. Even one-half of it would be enough to, for example:

Eliminate the officially announced state budget deficit running at around R36 billion; substantially increase the average pension amount; introduce money allowances for all families whose monthly per capita income is less than R75; increase minimum monthly wages to R100; and sharply increase the monetary resources appropriated by the state for health care services, culture, and education which today amount in total to about R75 billion a year.

From an Arms Economy to a Disarmament Economy

All that has been said so far may give the impression that the country's most acute socioeconomic problems and associated financial problems could be solved in one fell swoop—by switching a sizable amount of state expenditure from military to civilian tracks. Alas, such a conclusion would be superficial and profoundly wrong. The problem of converting the defense sectors and gearing them to civilian needs is not just complex, it is unimaginably complex.

So far we have talked mainly about the problem's money and cost aspects, about the potential likelihood of diverting financial resources from defense sectors to civilian ones. Even this, possibly the simplest aspect of the problem, involves more than just shifting money from one state pocket into another. It is necessary to clarify which actual sources of Army and defense finance could and should be pruned, the time when this should begin and how long it should last, what effect it would have on the functioning of the defense complex, and where the released resources should be channeled.

In addition, equally important and much more complex problems exist in parallel with the financial ones: material, technological, labor, and psychological.

Some rare exceptions apart, military production is not equivalent to civilian production. It is not simple to transform arms production and convert it to the production of civilian output—of consumer goods and services for the population. Even if we had before us a precise program for disarmament and arms reduction (which, alas, is still lacking and whose adoption does not depend on our country alone), it must be clarified, substantiated, and determined how the released production potential—material resources, buildings, installations, equipment, and mainly people—should be utilized for the solution of socioeconomic tasks.

In most cases it would probably be impossible to manage without reconstruction of enterprises, considerable changes in their economic relations, transformation of technology, and retraining or further training of personnel. The differences in levels of skills, labor remuneration systems, and secrecy regimes between defense and civilian sectors will certainly have an effect in the course of preparing for and implementing the conversion. Nor should we discount the psychological factor and sundry departmental ambitions.

I recently heard the following sarcastic remark made by a cadre official from the defense complex: "I've been making missiles all my life, now you want to make me produce pots and pans." We must not imagine that these are the thoughts of only people lacking a broad view of affairs. In the past, S.P. Korolev, who was a progressive person, told the author of these lines in his typical emotional style: "If you wreck the performance of space program targets you'll end up working in the meat and dairy industry." True enough, this was a long time ago, long before the adoption of the food program, but the mentality about the prestige of nuclear, missile, and space sectors still prevails.

Considerable efforts will have to be made to switch some of the extremely powerful scientific, planning and design, and technological potential to the tracks of developing fundamentally new models of civilian output—of goods for cultural and consumer service purposes—in order to make scientific, technical, and technological progress serve the needs of ordinary consumers, people, and families. True enough, some experience has already been accumulated in involving industry's defense sectors, Ministry of Defense organizations, and the Soviet Army in the fulfillment of social and construction programs and the production of consumer goods and services. So far these functions have been accepted by the country's military-industrial complex as secondary, imposed, and temporary. In the new conditions, the conversion of military production must be accepted by this production itself as a natural and objectively conditioned policy for its transformation, as an intrinsic need.

In order to make the idea of conversion a reality, it is primarily necessary to scientifically substantiate the ways in which it is to be implemented, to elaborate and adopt a conversion program and plan for the next few years. The implementation of these designs could go a long way toward furthering cooperation between the major military powers.

Agricultural

Ligachev Meeting With Journalists Reported

PM2402155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings With Agrarian Journalists"]

[Text] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has had meetings at the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting with journalists of the agrarian departments and editorial boards of central newspapers, television, radio broadcasting, and TASS.

Questions connected with coverage of the work of the agro-industrial complex and the solution of the food problem were examined in a frank atmosphere. Journalists shared impressions of trips to republics, krays, and oblasts and expressed their opinions on the improvement of production relations on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the social restructuring of the countryside, and fair exchange between the city and the countryside. Very acute, burning questions were touched on. The press, television, and radio workers showed great interest in the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

Ye.K. Ligachev addressed the agrarian journalists. He answered their questions. It was emphasized here that the solution of the food problem has become a particularly burning, extraordinary task in the country. It was no coincidence that the CPSU Central Committee adopted a decision to discuss problems of agrarian policy at a Central Committee plenum, for which active preparations are now being made.

The mass media has a big role to play in enhancing the efficiency of agro-industrial work in the country. A desire was expressed to propagandize the multiplicity of forms of management. Everything new that is making its way into life on kolkhozes and sovkhozes—primarily economically accountable and contract relations and various kinds of lease, cooperation, and self-management—must be vigorously supported. More attention must be devoted to large-scale collective production, to the subdisiary plots of enterprises and citizens, and to working and living conditions in the countryside. The creation of a modern food industry in the country and the participation of industrial centers in the retooling and social restructuring of the countryside must be within the field of view of the press.

It is very important for the central press, television, and radio to systematically analyze and compare the work results of republics, krays, and oblasts in supplying the population with foodstuffs. It is necessary to support the initiative and the businesslike enterprise of local organizations and to criticize sluggishness and inefficiency.

Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, and A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, also participated in the talks with journalists.

Nikonov Attends Potato Production Conference

LD0103224689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] At a conference which took place today in the RSFSR Council of Ministers, questions of increasing the production of potatoes and of improving potato supplies to the population were considered. Concrete tasks were defined for the fulfilment of the comprehensive program for the development of potato growing in the republic for the years 1989-90 and for the period up to 1995. Nikonov, Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, spoke at the conference. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman, delivered the concluding speech.

Vorotnikov Visits Farms in Voronezh Oblast

LD2602133389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov is in Voronezh Oblast. [video report opens with shots of houses along a road, cutting to name board outside the Maslovskiy state livestock unit's cattle embryo transplantation center, then woman working in laboratory and calves in indoor pens]

[Unidentified correspondent] An embryo transplantation center has started to function in the village of Maslovka, (Novousmanovskiy) rayon. Quite recently this was work for scientific research institutes, and now what is essentially genetic engineering is done in a chernozem zone village. Visiting today, Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov stressed the importance of this undertaking: improving the pedigree of the herd promises immense benefits. The weight gain of the thoroughbred bullocks, these pioneers in the experiment, is 1.6 kg. [passage omitted]

Liskinskiy Rayon, the Liskinskiy sovkhoz—The guest's attention was drawn to the farm's cheese-making workshop. [video: Vorotnikov inspecting racks of whole cheeses] The cheeses mature in these containers at a particular humidity and temperature, and the workers on the sovkhoz and the residents of Liskinskiy Rayon have already tested the quality of the finished product. The senior pupils do everything here with their own hands. [video: girls in farm girls' uniform file in to meet Vorotnikov] Approximately 30 percent of the graduates of the local school stay on the sovkhoz. This is not a large number of people, but they work well.

Both Maslovka and Liskinskiy are among the best farms in Voronezh Oblast. Few villages could compete with them in terms of harvests and yields, or even in lifestyle. They are an example of what restructuring can do in labor and in people's consciousness, and this is encouraging. [video: tractor on road, trees against skyline]

Agricultural Developments for 16-22 Feb

LD2302042389

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 16-22 February. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

16-20 February

No fileworthy items monitored.

21 February

Alfalfa sowing has started in the Surkhan River Valley Southern Uzbekistan. (0100) 22 February

No fileworthy items monitored.

Agricultural Developments for 23 Feb-2 Mar

LD2030011489

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 23 February to 2 March, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item. 23 February

No fileworthy items monitored 24 February

Top-dressing of winter crops has begun in the grain fields of Uzbekistan on a large scale. The virgin land mechanizers of the Syrdarinskaya Oblast are carrying out this work successfully. In a short period, more than 50,000 hectars of cereals have been tilled. More than 650,000 hectares in the republic are now under winter grain crops. An abundance of snow has facilitated the moistening of the soil, so that the prospects for the harvest are good. (0500) 25 February-2 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

Scientific

'Phobos' Continues Study of Mars, Martian Moons

Movement of Moon Phobos Measured

LD0103024689 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The data obtained during Tuesday's [28 February] television session under the international project Phobos will be used by specialists further to specify the parameters of Martian Moon Phobos' movement. This session was necessary to get as much information as possible about the red planet's companion, a TASS correspondent has learnt in the flight control center.

Without this it is impossible to pass over to the next responsible stage of the project—propelling the Soviet unmanned interplanetary probe Phobos from the so-called orbit of observations, in which it is placed now, to the orbit which is synchronous with Phobos.

When the first session to beam broadcasting images of Phobos was held a week ago, the spacecraft was at a distance of 860 to 1,130 kilometres from the moon. During Tuesday's session this distance has significantly shrunk. The broadcasting was done at a distance of 320 to 440 kilometres. Eventually, it is planned to transmit television pictures of Phobos' surface already from the so-called quasi-satellite orbit at a distance of 100 kilometres. Specialists are waiting with impatience for an important event—the dropping of a landing craft on Phobos.

The Phobos probe was launched from the Soviet Baikonur Space Port on July 12, 1988. During this time specialists explored the sun and interplanetary space. The project involves specialists from ten countries and also the European Space Agency.

Tests Measure Solar Wind, Temperatures

LD0103203889 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—By TASS special correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre:

The Soviet unmanned space probe "Phobos", orbiting round one of Mars's two satellites, conducted another series of scientific studies Wednesday [1 March].

At 10:00 a.m. Moscow time, the station switched on instruments of a plasma complex intended for obtaining information on the solar wind flowing around Mars and characteristics of the planet's magnetosphere.

At 4:22 p.m., the onboard control complex issued the command to start taking pictures of Mars in infra-red rays.

High-quality thermal images of the planet were obtained with the help of the Termoskan instrument. The images make it possible to distinguish, with high accuracy, temperatures on different parts of the relief.

The new photos, as well as those transmitted by the probe on February 1, will be used for making thermal maps of Mars.

Instruments intended for studying the elemental and isotopic composition of Phobos's surface were tested with the view to preparing them for forthcoming studies.

The scientific information received from the probe is being processed and studied.

Refuelling of 'Mir' Joint Propulsion Unit Begins

LD2802151189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev have been on duty in the "Mir" orbital complex for 3 months. Valeriy Polyakov, the doctor, has been working on board the space laboratory for half a year. In accordance with the geophysical experiments program, today the crew will conduct a series of experiments to determine the structure and optical characteristics of the atmosphere. Refuelling of the station's joint propulsion unit has begun, using fuel put into orbit by the "Progress-40" cargo ship. These operations are being conducted according to the commands of the on-board automatic apparatus, and are being controlled by the crew and the flight control center. Medical examinations were conducted yesterday and the state of health of Volkov, Krikalev, and Polyakov is good.

Military

General Sorokin Discusses Army Restructuring

AU2802142089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Feb 89 p 6

[Interview with Army General Mikhail Sorokin, USSR deputy minister of defense, by Dmitriy Belskiy, NOVOSTI military commentator: "Restructuring in USSR Armed Forces; Toward Reasonable Sufficiency"—place and date not given]

[Text] On the eve of today's celebrations of the 71st anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Armed Forces, Dmitriy Belskiy, NOVOSTI military commentator, interviewed Army General Mikhail Sorokin, USSR deputy minister of defense.

[Belskiy] You have passed through all stages of military service, you have been under fire on the fronts of the Great Fatherland War, you have devoted almost 50 years to the Soviet Army—a period which is comparable to its "age." How do you regard the historical goals and the main changes which are being pursued in our Army?

[Sorokin] Our Army developed and grew stronger, in parallel with the entire country. It underwent the harsh training of the civil war, fought against foreign military intervention (1918-22), and survived the worst of all wars—the Great Fatherland War (1941-45).

In the postwar period, the Soviet Armed Forces were further improved and their combat strength enhanced, on the basis of the experience acquired in the defeats during the initial stages of that war, and later in the victorious operations which led to the defeat of the strong military machinery of Hitlerite Germany.

We have always been sincere in our love for peace. Throughout our history, the USSR's Armed Forces developed with a single goal in mind—to provide reliable protection for the peaceful creative work of the Soviet people, of our friends and allies.

This was also the aim of the military-strategic equilibrium achieved between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states in the seventies, for it enabled us to ward off the external threat of war.

Regrettably, our measures were not always received in the right way. I stress this because the Soviet Union is currently undertaking specific steps to put the defensive orientation of its military doctrine in practice, from positions based on its historical experience.

[Belskiy] You are speaking, of course, of the Soviet Union's decision to cut down the numerical strength of its Armed Forces and to substantially reduce the volume of conventional armaments in the next 2 years. What is so significant about this step, in your view?

[Sorokin] Primarily, the fact that one speaks of the practical realization of a military step of immense dimensions. The reductions will affect a large part of the entire potential of the Soviet Armed Forces. It is sufficient to say that the total number of tanks will be cut by 10,000 (5,000 will be scrapped, and the rest converted for civilian needs); the artillery systems will be reduced by 8,500; fighter aircraft by 800; and the number of soldiers in units by 500,000. Let me add for comparison that Soviet Army troops operating on the enormous 4,400-km front from the Barents to the Black Sea during the summer and autumn campaigns of 1944 had only 7,100 tanks at their disposal.

Moreover, one must bear in mind the qualitative structural changes planned in the organization of formations and units of the groups of Soviet troops stationed on the territories of Warsaw Pact states, our allies, and in the European part of the USSR. In the east we will reduce the number of troops by 75 percent in Mongolia alone; our air formation [letecke seskupeni] there will also be eliminated.

The total reduction of our Armed Forces will amount to 12 percent: i.e. 240,000 persons stationed in the European part of the country, 200,000 (Army and Navy) stationed in the country's eastern part, and 60,000 stationed in its southern part.

[Belskiy] Can it be concluded from this that Europe will find itself in a qualitatively new situation?

[Sorokin] Of course. This is attested to by the nature of the current troop reduction. The fact is that six tank divisions are being withdrawn from the territories of the GDR, CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic, and then disbanded. The Soviet troops stationed there are being cut by 50,000 persons, and the equipment by 5,300 of the most up-to-date tanks. We know that in the largest operation of World War II—the Berlin operation (1945)—our side had only slightly more than 6,000 tanks at its disposal.

We hope that our measures will be correctly understood—even if it is a most difficult task to assess the balance of armed forces, a task that is not protected with seven seals. [sentence as published]

[Belskiy] Glasnost in the military sphere can thus be said to have an international significance, too. How is this reflected in practice?

[Sorokin] The participation of foreign experts in the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles at military bases and also the exchange of observers are already becoming customary. Data on strengths of armed forces and armaments, which were formerly kept secret by both sides, are now being mutually exchanged.

The embargo on certain military information about the USSR Armed Forces was partly lifted in September 1988.

The measures connected with the reduction of armed forces and armaments that we announced in New York in December 1988 will be carried out under conditions of maximum openness and glasnost. Plans and timetables for the period 1989-90 are being prepared in advance; they envisage the disbanding of appropriate units, including troops withdrawn from the GDR, CSSR, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Mongolian People's Republic, and determine not only the course for cutting down the number of conscripts for basic military service, but also the categories of soldiers transferred into the reserve and their mutual relations. They also analyze the planned timetable for cutting down the number of tanks, artillery systems, and combat aircraft, and for substantially reducing the volume of conventional weapons in the Asian part of the USSR in the period in question. [Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 23 February on page 3 carries a 1,200-word interview with General Sorokin by Dmitriy Belskiy, "NOVOSTI military observer," entitled "Alliance of Power and Sense," and conducted "on the eve of the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces at the request of ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME." Comparison with this Bratislava PRAVDA version reveals that both newspapers carry the same interview, and that it is identical except for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME's omission of the preceding two sentences: Plans and timetables...period in question.] Such specific information attests to our sincere intentions. We are also counting on inviting foreign observers.

[Belskiy] How do you see the common-sense and security aspects of sufficiency?

[Sorokin] The main criterion here is naturally security. The reorganization of armed forces and the quantity and quality of their armament are determined by limits which strictly correspond to the degree of the military threat, and which provide for military equilibrium and a strategic balance between countries. Reasonable sufficiency means that our means will be sufficient for essential defense, and that we refrain from redistributing them, which could alarm the other side. The implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will be a telling example of this. It is known that—proceeding from common sense, instead of from viewpoints of strength in providing for security—we are eliminating double the number of missiles eliminated by the United States. This can only benefit our general security.

Reliable sufficiency means maintaining a country's defense ability on a level that would discourage anyone from succumbing to the temptation to infringe on the security of the USSR and its allies. This is a new model of security, the chief element of which is a strengthened defense ability which makes it possible to preserve the balance of forces solely on the basis of reasonable and reliable sufficiency.

Formation 'X' of Strategic Missile Forces Viewed

PM2702170989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by special correspondent R. Guseynov under the rubric: "Farewell to Missiles? No, We Are Not Bidding Farewell to This Awesome Equipment Yet. But We Are Ready To Do So at Any Moment"]

[Text] Moscow—At Formation "X" of the Strategic Missile Forces:

The sleeping car of the express train ran gently into the buffers and stopped by the platform. From the platform a smart officer smiled at us through the shroud of snow. Once convinced that we were the ones he was waiting for, he invited us into the car. It was an ordinary town, like many others in the country, surrounded by pine forests, a clean and tidy town. The UAZ driver drove slowly—it was icy outside—and I had time to look at the streets: There was a waiting line for the latest newspapers, hot bread had been delivered to the bakery, a salesgirl called out to some loaders, and a young mother preoccupied with her morning chores was taking her still sleepy child along to the kindergarten. An ordinary town. If you knew what the people living here were thinking and dreaming about, there would probably be no great difference between them and the population of any provincial American town. But there are other towns in America whose fate is firmly bound with this one. We learned about one such town from the impressive movie "The Day After." A town concealing lethal weaponry in deep underground silos runs the risk of being covered by the enemy's nuclear shroud. In that fictional movie U.S. strategic missiles deliver a first nuclear strike against the Soviet Union in response to Warsaw Pact troop movements along the borders with West Europe. Retribution is inevitable and it duly arrives, sweeping away everything in its path.

A strategic missile formation was located in the outskirts of the town along whose narrow streets we were driving that morning. That was our destination.

From a conversation on the street in the town of "X":

"Do you know what military subunits are stationed next to your town?"

"Of course I do. They are missilemen. My sister works in the canteen there."

"But aren't you afraid that you could suffer in the event of hostilities?"

"I have thought about that and I am convinced that if trouble starts no one will be saved. It is just here it will happen sooner than elsewhere."

At Strategic Missile Forces headquarters:

This military encampment is by no means last on the list of facilities liable to be destroyed first. You can guess that much even without looking at the top secret maps and without being a great strategist.

We were received in a large bright office by Lieutenant General D.A. Zhilnikov, first deputy chief of the Strategic Missile Forces Political Directorate. The general smiled, we introduced ourselves, and he telephoned reception that our conversation was not to be disturbed.

[Guseynov] Dmitriy Alekseyevich, when people talk about missile forces they usually think of the present day, although the history of this category of troops goes back a long way.

[Zhilnikov] The missile forces have existed as a branch of the USSR's Armed Forces for 29 years now. I am not going to talk about the potential of these weapons, everyone is well aware of that. I want to talk about something else: During those years there hasn't been a minute, let alone a day, when the strategic forces were not on alert duty at their control panels. At all times of the year, day and night, in all weathers and in virtually all the country's climate zones, missilemen keep their combat readiness.

Missilemen are celebrating the current holiday in conditions which are not entirely usual. As you know, in addition to our main mission of maintaining a constant level of combat readiness and of combat crews' skill there is also a planned process under way in which intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being destroyed in strict accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty. But it must be admitted that the process of elimination is not as simple as it may seem to the outsider. I am thinking not of the technology of missile destruction, although here, too, a vast amount of hazardous work is being carried out. The elimination process has led some people to believe that the Army is no longer needed and that this is even more true of nuclear missiles. Ideally, that is how it should be, of course. But there is still a very long way to go before that stage. The missile elimination process is scheduled to take 3 years. We know that the United States is destroying its missiles as they are taken out of service. The launchers which tomorrow are due to go to the elimination base are today in a state of constant combat readiness. We are doing the same thing.

Our equipment is really first class. Recently I attended some missile training launches with some American colleagues. After the first launch the U.S. missilemen clapped loudly, after the second there was a little less applause, and after the third, which like the previous two was right on target, there was no applause at all. You know, that was the best assessment of our work—astonishment at the weapon's accuracy.

I mean it when I say that for a man whose life has been spent alongside missiles—and that means sleepless nights, wrecked nerves, and remote test grounds in the most severe conditions—the destruction of equipment is, of course, no easy matter. But I am convinced that you will not find a missileman who thinks that his job will exist forever. The day will come when weapons are unnecessary.

From a conversation on a street in the town of "X":

"I don't know, I just don't know whether we are doing the right thing in destroying such a vast amount of first-rate equipment. I am not a missileman myself, I was in the infantry, but I know what kind of weaponry this is. Missilemen are our elite. What will happen to them now?"

At Formation "X" of the Strategic Missile Forces:

The dense pine forest, pierced by shafts of sunlight, suddenly opens up. There is a barrier across the road, a sentry closely scrutinizes our documents, then the special pass which clearly defines all the places where we are allowed to go. There will be more of these checks ahead. And the nearer we come to the installation, called the "point," the more complex your feelings become.

The "point" is many meters deep, the missiles tower to their full height, which means at least as high as a seven-story building. There, in the depths of the silo, alongside the mobile missile monster capable of reducing hundreds of kilometers to ashes, the launch alert duty crew keeps watch, eyes constantly peeled. Missilemen have an old tradition that the formation's command is also included in the alert duties here. There is a vast panel with hundreds of lights, a swivel chair, and a crew ready for duty from the first minute to the last.

Senior Lieutenant Andrey Yushkovskiy, launch crew operator, said:

"The most difficult moment of service is when you sit in this chair for the first time. A tremendous almost physical burden of responsibility bears down on you. Gradually you become confident in your work, but the sense of responsibility persists even among those who have been on alert duty for 18-20 years. No one in our unit knows where the missiles will go, probably a few people at the main staff know. But one thing I do know: Somewhere out there, at the edge of the world, another missile is aiming straight at me and perhaps someone my age is sitting at its control panel. I do not believe in war, I believe in man, but today, so long as the country still needs us, duty is our main work.

"X" Strategic Missile Troops headquarters. Conversation in Lt Gen D.A. Zhilnikov's Office:

[Guseynov] Comrade General! The restructuring taking place in the country cannot fail to affect the Army. What form are these processes taking in the missile forces?

[Zhilnikov] Much work is being done to revise the military rules—the main document regulating service in the Armed Forces. This year new rules will be ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The drafts have been extensively discussed among the forces and we have submitted our proposals. We will receive the new documents and the processes of the democratization of society will undoubtedly be most broadly reflected in them. I can tell you more than that. During the discussion people spoke about tightening up certain points and making penalties stiffer. But they were not supported—either from the grassroots or from the top.

[Guseynov] The Army is part of our society and it cannot fail to have been affected by the negative processes in the country during the years of stagnation.

[Zhilnikov] I understand your question. Of course, we are bound to be worried, for example, by the worsening of interethnic relations. We realize that these processes need thorough study, the old forms of work must be renounced, and work with people of different nationalities must be more thoughtful or subtle, if you like. Interethnic relations groups are now being set up within units, subunits, and formations. We are counting on their fruitful work and a nonformal approach to this important work.

I must mention the matter which worries the Army so much. I have in mind nonregulation relations. It occurs among our troops, too, but far more rarely than among other types of troops. The most important thing is that there is a steady reduction in these disgraceful incidents. I say that under no circumstances can a man addicted to drugs, toxic substances, drink, or someone who is simply slipshod be entrusted with even a shovel, let alone a submachine gun. And certainly not missile equipment and combat weapons of mass destruction.

At Formation "X" of the Strategic Missile Forces:

In the book "Missilemen" which describes the history of missiles in Russia and the modern Strategic Missile Forces, I came across an interesting account of how one of the first Soviet missiles was tested in 1933.

"On 23 November an oxygen truck was sent to the test range. The vehicle was supposed to come back for the missile but they did not wait for it. On the morning of 24 November they wrapped the missile in scraps of material and took it by tram to the Rzhevskiy station. From the station it went by train. They carried the missile by hand the 6 km from the station to the test range. On the road they met the truck which had gotten stuck 1 km from the range. So they had to carry the oxygen tank and the air cylinders on their shoulders as well. It was not until the following morning that they managed to mount the missile on the launcher. The launcher was situated alongside the dugout from which they observed the test through a viewing slit.... M.V. Vorobyev tugged on a string which opened the oxygen tap to allow the compressed air into the fuel tank.... A jet of flame burst from the nozzle. The missile left the launcher smoothly and rapidly ascended...."

...Thus ended the assignment to the missile formation. The UAZ truck took us back to the unit one last time to bid farewell to the missilemen. Near the final barrier the driver swerved abruptly and almost went up the pavement. A convoy was slowly coming toward us through the wide open gates. The unit commander was in front in the car, behind him came the powerful Army trucks with the duty shift crews. The missilemen were taking up their alert duty posts.

Commander of Ground Forces Meets Voters

PM2802113989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Our correspondent report: "Support and Approval"]

[Text] Workers from the Kalmyk ASSR's Maloderbetovskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayons that form part of No 552 National-Territorial Okrug celebrated Soviet Army and Navy Day in a special atmosphere. General V. Varennikov, hero of the Soviet Union Army, candidate for USSR people's deputy, commander in chief of the ground forces, and USSR deputy defense minister, came here to meet his voters.

The inhabitants of the Kalmyk ASSR's steppe regions warmly and cordially received Valentin Ivanovich. V. Zakharov, first secretary of the Kalmyk party obkom, machine operator V. Nesterov, and others expressed support for Army General Varennikov's candidacy.

Conference Held on 'Book of Remembrance'

PM0103131789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "Book of Remembrance"]

[Text] A conference of representatives of founding organizations of the All-Union Book of Remembrance was held at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate 28 February.

It was attended by Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense; Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; generals and officers of the USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and representatives of ministries, departments, and institutions involved in work connected with the creation of the Remembrance Book—the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans, the Komsomol Central Committee, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, the Soviet